RITTER LIBRARY
ALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

**Reparations for Blacks?** *Stephen C. Rose*

# THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — June 21, 1969, 40 cents

## The Vicious Acronyms

*Ralph E. Lapp on ABM & MIRV*

**Back from Midway** —*John Osborne*

**Poor Head Start** —*Charles Smith*

**FCC Impropriety** —*Daniel Zwerdling*

**Durrell's Landscapes** —*George Wickes*

**High School** —*Joseph Featherstone*

**Rockefeller's Bonfire** —*The Editors*

NEWSPAPER
44017
BEREA OHIO
RITTER LIB PRD
BALDWN WLCE COLL
NR BLD/ C009 1 1069

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# PICASSO ENGRAV

On March 16, 1968, Pablo Picasso, the pre-eminent artist of our time, commenced work on a series of engravings that he predicted would become "my most sought-after–and possibly scandalous–work." They were to be a series of pictures portraying every aspect of sexual pleasure. Picasso had wanted to create such a series for over 65 years, he confided to Aldo Crommelynck, his engraving-press printer, and he intended it to stand as "an abiding celebration of life itself."

For nearly seven months Picasso worked in a creative frenzy at his studio in Mougins, France, turning out as many as four engravings in a single day, often with as many as six variations of each. "Ole!", "Bravo!", "Magnifico!", he would exclaim as each new engraving was pulled from the press, and so ecstatic was he over the quality of the work that on several occasions he summoned friends from as far off as London and New York to view the work in progress. Finally, on October 5th, he bundled the engravings together, inscribed them with the title "347 Gravures," and announced "Ya!" ("It is finished!").

The engravings Picasso had created are, collectively, his masterwork, a fitting climax to the career of a man whose dedication, both in personal life and work, has been to the sensual. "Without the awakening of ardent love, no life–and therefore no art–has any meaning," Picasso is quoted by his biographer, Roland Penrose, as saying. And nowhere in the prodigious, 20,000-piece *oeuvre* of this fertile genius has ardent love been more beautifully–or joyfully–portrayed. Throughout the engravings voluptuous majas surrender themselves, lustful satyrs disport, and troupes of swooning acrobats perform in a circus of love. Picasso's irrepressible love of mischief is in evidence, too, in scenes of grandees cuckolded, harems invaded, and models seduced by lecherous painters. The last theme is the one most often repeated in the series, with the painters puckishly made to resemble Rembrandt, Raphael, and, of course, Picasso himself. (Picasso's life-long friend, Max Jacob, has said, "Picasso would much rather be remembered as a famous Don Juan than an artist.") All in all, Picasso's "347 Gravures" reflect such consummate craftsmanship, timeless subject matter, and sublime inspiration as to ensure their place as the greatest art treasure of the 20th Century.

If the artistic value of "347 Gravures" is considerable, its commercial value is perhaps even greater. The engravings, which have been printed in a limited edition of 50 sets, have fetched a price of *ten million dollars.* This is more than has ever before been paid for a work of art. Moreover, because of rumors that circulated throughout the art world concerning the superexcellence of the engravings, all 50 sets were subscribed to even before Picasso had finished making them!

Art critics who have seen the engravings have been positively apostolic in their praise. "These etchings reach the zenith of man's creative power. They rank with 'Hamlet,' Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment.' That is to say, they are classic," says Robert Glauber, of Skyline. LIFE: "Picasso's most trenchant exploration of sex and sexuality...As never before, the master seems bent on describing that idyllic state wherein the spirit and flesh are one." Herald-Tribune (Paris): "A major undertaking ...amazing...extraordinary...staggering...incredible. Picasso's brilliance conquers all." TIME: "A virtuoso performance." Armand St. Clair, Revue de Paris: "Mesmerizing...If I had a choice among all the works Picasso has produced, I would take this one without hesitation." Franz Schulze, Chicago Daily News: "What a difference between Picasso's view of sex and the sniggering, guilt-ridden American pornography of today." Brian Fitzherbert, Nova: "Once again, Picasso demonstrates his astounding power of regeneration." Harold Joachim, Curator of Prints, Art Institute of Chicago: "Astonishing...A compelling testimony of Picasso's amazing energy and power of invention at the age of 87." Harold Haydon, Chicago Sun-Times: "A great surprise package...Unparalleled for sustained interest and quality." Pierre Cabanne, Plexus: "The Last Will and Testament of the father of modern art."

It is with great pride, therefore, and humility, that the editors of **Avant-Garde** announce that their magazine has been chosen as the medium through which Picasso's monumental new work will be shown to the world. Picasso's Paris representative, the Societe de la Propriete Artistique, has appointed **Avant-Garde** as the sole proscenium for presentation of the quintessence of "347 Gravures." Mindful of the awesome responsibility that this singular honor imposes, the editors of **Avant-Garde** have spared neither expense nor effort to ensure that "347 Gravures" receives the premiere it deserves.

To begin with, an entire issue of **Avant-Garde**–64 pages–will be devoted exclusively to this one subject. The issue will carry no advertising. The world's foremost graphic designer, Herb Lubalin, has been retained to design this special issue. Costly antique paper stocks and flame-set colored inks will be used throughout. The issue will be printed by time-consuming duotone offset lithography and will be bound in 12-point Frankote boards, for permanent preservation. All in all, this lavishly produced issue of **Avant-Garde** will more closely resemble an expensive art folio than a magazine. The editors of **Avant-Garde** are determined that their presentation of the quintessence of Picasso's "347 Gravures" will be a landmark not only in the history of art, but in publishing, as well.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# S EROTIC NGS

**Copies of this special collector's edition of Avant-Garde will not be offered for sale to the general public. They are being given away–free –as a gift to all new subscribers to Avant-Garde.**

In case you've never heard of **Avant-Garde**, let us explain that it is the most beautiful–and daring–magazine in America today. Although launched only two years ago, already it has earned a reputation as *the* outstanding showcase for the exhibition of creative talent. This reputation stems from **Avant-Garde**'s editorial policy of *complete and absolute freedom of creative expression*. **Avant-Garde** steadfastly refuses to sacrifice creative genius on the altar of "morality" (the motto of the magazine is "Down with bluenoses, blue laws, and blue pencils"). Thus, the world's most gifted artists, writers, and photographers continually bring to **Avant-Garde** their most uninhibited–and inspired–works. **Avant-Garde** serves–consistently–as a haven for the painting that is "too daring," the novella that is "too outrageous," the poem that is "too sensuous," the cartoon that is "too satirical," the reportage that is "too graphic," the opinion that is "too candid," the photograph that is "too explicit." **Avant-Garde** is proud of its reputation as the wild game sanctuary of American arts and letters.

In addition to Picasso, contributors to **Avant-Garde** include such renowned figures as Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, Andrew Wyeth, Kenneth Tynan, Dan Greenburg, Phil Ochs, Allen Ginsberg, Dr. Karl Menninger, Carl Fischer, Paul Krassner, Andy Warhol, Eliot Elisofon, Warren Boroson, Peter Max, Richard Avedon, John Updike, Roald Dahl, Art Kane, Charles Schulz, Bert Stern, Richard Lindner, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, S.J. Perelman, James Baldwin, Alan Watts, Salvador Dali, Terry Southern, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Ashley Montagu, William Burroughs, Paul Goodman, Kenneth Rexroth, Harper Lee, Jean Genet, and Marshall McLuhan.

Critics everywhere have spent themselves in a veritable orgy of praise over **Avant-Garde**. "Reality freaks, unite! Weird buffs, rejoice! **Avant-Garde** has arrived bearing mind-treasures of major proportions," says the San Francisco Chronicle. "**Avant-Garde** is guaranteed to shake the cobwebs out of the mind," says the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. "An exotic literary menu...A wild new thing on the New York scene," says Encounter. "**Avant-Garde** is aimed at readers of superior intelligence and cultivated taste who are interested in the arts, politics, science–and sex," says The New York Times. "The fantastic artwork, alone, is worth the price of the magazine," says the News Project. "A field manual by the avant-garde, for the avant-garde," says New York critic Robert Reisner. "**Avant-Garde**'s articles on cinema, rock, and the New Scene are a stoned groove," says the East Village Other. "Off-beat, arty, sexy," says the New York Daily News. "It's the sawn-off shotgun of American critical writing," says the New Statesman. "Its graphics are stylish," says TIME. "**Avant-Garde** is MAGAZINE POWER!" says poet Harold Seldes. "Wow! What a ferris wheel! I was high for a week after reading it," says the pop critic of Cavalier.

Subscriptions to **Avant-Garde** ordinarily cost $10 per year. In conjunction with this special Picasso erotic engravings offer, however, we are offering ten-month introductory subscriptions for *ONLY $5!* This is virtually *HALF PRICE!!* To enter your subscription (five issues)–*and obtain a copy of the Picasso erotic engravings folio ABSOLUTELY FREE*–simply fill out the adjacent coupon and mail it with $5 to: **Avant-Garde**, 110 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 10018.

But please hurry, since quantities of the Picasso folio are limited and this offer may be withdrawn without notice.

Then sit back and prepare to receive a subscription bonus par excellence, and your first copy of an exuberant new magazine that is equally devoted to the love of art and the art of love.

AVANT® GARDE

AVANT-GARDE WISHES TO THANK THE FOLLOWING MUSEUMS AND GALLERY FOR THEIR COOPERATION IN PREPARING THE SPECIAL PICASSO ISSUE: THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, GALERIE LOUISE LEIRIS (PARIS), THE ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO (TORONTO) KUNSTHAUS (ZURICH), AKADEMIE DER KUNSTE (BERLIN).

**Avant-Garde**
110 W. 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018

I enclose $5 for a ten-month subscription to the exuberant new magazine **Avant-Garde**. I understand that I am paying virtually *HALF PRICE* and that I will receive–*ABSOLUTELY FREE*–a copy of the magnificent art folio containing Picasso's erotic engravings.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE ZIP

©AVANT-GARDE 1969. *NR-16*

*The New Republic* is published 48 weeks per year at $10, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc. 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of rural America's most crucial problems is a lack of decent housing. There are more dilapidated, deteriorating homes in rural areas than in the slums of all the nation's cities.

Self-help housing is one answer to the problem. In Binger, Oklahoma, fathers and mothers, their children and neighbors, all pitch in and work together to build their own homes. So far they've finished 22. . . .

The people of Caddo Electric Cooperative, which serves the area, led in getting this modern version of yesterday's barn-raising under way . . . helping arrange financing, giving freely of their technical and administrative know-how, lending heavy equipment, providing construction supervisors . . . even trained home economists.

Self-help projects are a step forward. But only through a large-scale national effort will we meet the large-scale housing needs in rural America. The people of the nation's nearly 1,000 consumer-owned rural electric systems are working, all across the country, to give substance to man's right to a decent home for himself and his family.

# OFF TO ANOTHER 'BARN-RAISING'

## AMERICA'S RURAL ELECTRIC SYSTEMS

Owned and controlled by the people they serve

For more information write National Rural Electric Cooperative Association/2000 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# For a buck and a half you can get these kids out of the city this summer.

You can, in fact, get them delivered to your door all summer for only $1.50...by accepting Harper's special three-month introductory subscription offer.

Get Arthur Miller's first-hand 42-page report on what Russia and the Russians are really like in this year of world-wide upheaval . . . and the complete story of how a brilliant young liberal like McGeorge Bundy could help engineer a disaster in Vietnam, then steer the New York City schools into chaos for an encore . . . and an exploration of America's newest group of angry, frustrated rebels—the lower middle class . . . in-depth, inside views of: a rock group's life, how Harvard's faculty reacts to campus upheaval, the wheeling and dealing of a new-generation Texas politico . . . and quite a lot more.

Since Harper's Magazine should be savored at leisure, we think summer is the best time for people who don't know it to discover it. And obviously, our three summer issues are loaded with inducements.

They're all yours—to enjoy all summer—at one-third off the newsstand price.

308

**Harper's** MAGAZINE
2 PARK AVE., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

Please enter my subscription to Harper's Magazine at the special summer introductory rate of just $1.50 for 3 issues (Newsstand price, $2.25)

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Name _____
Summer Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Please bill me

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# TRB

from Washington

## Just People

Our favorite mad scientist, Dr. Mene T. Upharsin, thinks World War III won't start with a nuclear first strike but with an aerosol cloud. This pleases him. "Chemical - biological warfare (CBW)," he says, "would be extraordinarily cheap. It would unbalance few budgets. For a hundred dollars the armed forces are already producing hush-hush chemicals potentially as effective as ABM's."

We asked him to explain this.

"Why," he cried, "a nuclear blast would turn upper Manhattan into a hole in the ground wouldn't it? – everything lost: the lions on the Public Library; the art treasures, Macy's. But with CBW all inanimate objects would *survive*."

"People?"

"Of course not," he said indifferently. "I base my projections on speeches put into the Congressional Record by Rep. Richard D. McCarthy (D., N.Y.) who, for some reason, opposes CBW. Well, we're all crazy in some way, I guess." (He said this with one of his wild laughs.) "Suppose the Army attacked Chicago with Nerve Gas VX with which it accidentally killed 6,400 sheep in Skull Valley, Utah. Would it damage anything? – I mean capital plant and equipment? Of course not."

"Well, I'm in favor of thrift," I said doubtfully. "It's part of the Puritan ethic."

"Exactly," he said. "Take the huge GM complex at Detroit. What an unspeakable tragedy to pulverize it with a bomb! But with CBW it would suffer no damage at all – save some minor loss, perhaps, from reduced maintenance and upkeep. The same with museums and libraries! Destroy these and you've lost your cultural heritage."

We had been leading him on and now it was time to spring the trap.

"You have forgotten one thing," we said triumphantly. "According to Lt. Gen. S. J. Efnor, former commander of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, the gas from a single bomb, the size of a quart fruit jar, could kill every living thing within a cubic mile, depending, of course, on wind and weather conditions."

"Oh, of course," he said.

"A tiny drop on the back of man's hand, Efnor says, will paralyze his nerves instantly and deaden his brain. Death follows in 30 seconds."

Even yet Dr. Upharsin didn't see our ploy. "So what?" he demanded.

"Casualties!" we exclaimed. "Fatalities. It would be like Philip Ziegler's 'The Black Death,' which ranged Europe, 1347-1350."

"Oh, that," said Dr. Upharsin, losing interest. "Don't you know the world's population will double by AD 2000 if something isn't done about it? The important thing is what that patriotic Senator Russell said the other day: 'If World War III leaves only one couple alive on earth, I want that couple to be *American*!' Actually, of course, it wouldn't be as bad as that; you'd probably find quite a few couples tucked away here and there. And with all the plant and capital investment intact they'd get things running in no time. It would be inspiring. It would be the cheapest war in history. Nothing lost. Only people."

"Are you sure of your facts?" we asked, uncertainly. "You're supposed to be mad, you know."

"Me, mad?" he cried uproariously. "You read what the Pentagon's doing on germ warfare. I'm the *sane* one."

Well, so much for our fictitious Dr. Upharsin. President Nixon's encounter on Midway may or may not have slowed down the rush to the Apocalypse. But a study of what the Army's CBW can do makes the ABM pale and milky by comparison.

To begin with, we had the idea that the US is bound by treaty not to use poison gas. After all, didn't Franklin Roosevelt say in 1942 that such weapons have "been outlawed by the general opinion of civilized mankind"? The US, in fact, initiated the movement to ban gas warfare way back in 1925 at the Geneva convention.

But the United States never signed the convention. America led the world to it and then forgot about it. Veterans' groups and the American Chemical Society fought it in the Senate according to George Bunn, University of Wisconsin Law School. The Senate finally dropped it. The USSR signed in 1928, China in 1929 and it now has 60 adherents, but not the US – a fact called to the attention of other nations by the Soviet Union and its allies at every opportunity.

This is not too important, of course. After all, we aren't using nerve gas or germs in Vietnam. Nevertheless, the *US Army Field Manual on the Law of Land Warfare* (1956) specifically states that "the US is not a party to any treaty now in force, that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or nontoxic gases . . . or of bacteriological warfare. The Geneva Protocol . . . is not binding on this country."

So we can go ahead legally.

Harvard scientist Matthew S. Meselson wants us to sign right away. Until Rep. McCarthy got busy, CBW programs were largely shielded from public and congressional scrutiny. A CBS documentary showed frozen germs rolling off an assembly line like bottles of milk. The Army can turn out tons of the stuff at short notice.

Meselson says nerve gases are bad enough, but potential "virulent microorganisms and viruses can be a million times more so." With them, he says, "a single aircraft would be capable of attacking an area of many thousands of square miles." Indeed biological mutations might produce a Q strain, not susceptible to vaccine, with a pandemic that would decimate the earth.

"The most generally considered mode of attack," he says, "is by means of an aerosol cloud released by planes, drones, missiles, off-shore submarines or ships."

Dr. Meselson fears war passions would whittle off restraints. The US is now using tear gas and herbicides in Vietnam: some nations call this gas warfare, others don't. He wants the US to ratify a strengthened convention right away to bolster world morale.

Rep. McCarthy has more modest goals. He just wants the armed services to stop shipping leftover poison gases across country by train and plane, en route to some convenient ocean. A reasonable request we think.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Volume 160, Number 25, Issue 2843, June 21, 1969. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1969 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

Contents

**7-9** Comment
Rockefeller's Bonfire, Support Your Local Police

**10** ICC Impropriety – *Daniel Zwerdling*

**11** Poor Head Start and Its Children – *Charles Smith*

**13** Back from Midway – *John Osborne*

**15** The Vicious Acronyms – *Ralph E. Lapp*

**19** Putting It to the Churches – *Stephen C. Rose*

**22** Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

**23** Books – *Reviews by George Wickes, Edward T. Chase*

**24** Poem – *Donald Davie*

**28** Documentary: "High School" – *Joseph Featherstone*

**31** Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Richard Gilman
Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – **Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul Wieck**
S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Advertising Manager – Holly Reppert
National Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

# Rockefeller's Bonfire

Nelson Rockefeller is not quite another Bishop Hugh Latimer, who went smiling to the stake in the faith he was lighting a candle that would never be put out. But the governor's first two "fact-finding" forays into Latin America did light a bonfire which has succeeded, as Rockefeller says, in putting Latin America "on the front page of the United States press and on television and radio. . . . And many Latin Americans have said to me, 'We're deeply grateful to you because we've been on the back pages for years. . . .' " Yet the hard questions remain: Why did the mission touch off such violent anti-Americanism? What ought to be this country's policy, in view of the manifest failure of past efforts, to establish some sort of hemisphere harmony? Have we hoped, on our own, to do too much, too little?

The purpose Rockefeller himself attributes to his mission is to work out a fresh approach to Latin American economic development. Instead of our saying, "This is what we will do for you, if you meet our standards," the US would say, as it did to the European nations participating in the Marshall Plan, "Work out a reasonable and coherent program, and we will try to provide the external assistance necessary for its success." That is a sensible approach. Its major defect is Latin doubts about whether the US means it. At a meeting last month in Chile, the Latin Foreign Ministers did hammer out a common position on inter-American economic and social cooperation, and wrote it up in the form of a 6,000-word memorandum to President Nixon. Simultaneously, Mr. Nixon transmitted to Congress his foreign aid program, setting forth the "new directions" which he proposes to follow. He didn't wait for the Rockefeller report, nor did he attend to the Foreign Ministers' memo. The result was a series of limp resolves "to redirect our efforts in four main ways: . . . enlist the energies of private enterprise . . . emphasize innovative technical assistance . . . induce other advanced nations to join in bearing their fair share . . . [and] build on recent successes in furthering food production and family planning." It was Harry Truman's inaugural address of 1949 all over again. At that time, the US was giving its all to Europe, but wanted not to appear to neglect the underdeveloped world, so it offered technical assistance, which is cheap, and encouragement to private investors, which is no burden on the federal budget. Now the US is giving its all to Vietnam, nuclear armaments and outer space, and would like

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to give some to our tortured cities, and still it does not want to appear to neglect the underdeveloped world. Truman didn't stress the enlisting of other advanced nations, because in 1949 they were all in hock; and he didn't mention family planning, then still dirty words for politicians. But with those exceptions, Truman's and Nixon's programs are the same.

Latin Americans are not stupid, or unreasonable. They know that private US investors, however well-insured by government, will not build farm-to-market roads, schools and clinics, finance land-reform programs, or make loans to small farmers. They know too that technical assistance is useless without capital. If capital is not provided, they must pay for it with their exports – and that is what they are doing, paying about 27 percent of their total exports for capital, largely to the US. New US loans have declined, while population growth, urbanization, and some increase in per capita income have all contributed to a growing demand in Latin America for imports. The only escape for the 20 nations south of the Rio Grande (not counting Cuba) is to export more; and the principal barrier to doing so is US trade restrictions.

Latin America wants Washington to give its exports – everything from coffee, cotton and beef to manufactured goods and minerals – special trade and tariff preferentials, and at a time when Congress, and much of the US, is more protectionist minded than it has been in more than three decades. There's little chance of Congress responding sympathetically, let alone the Nixon Administration. Latin America wants more dollar aid on a guaranteed basis – at a time when the Administration has submitted the lowest foreign aid request in modern history. The AID budget is not only excessively low ($50 million has been trimmed from the original Latin American program, and Congress may cut it further), but it allocates one-third of the funds to one country, Brazil, which has one of the most repressive dictatorships on the continent. Latin America would like US business to be given a special tax break – 30 percent or so – for investing in Central and South America – at a time when the Administration is suggesting that the seven percent investment credit given at home be rescinded.

One thing the Latins aren't particularly interested in this time is US military hardware. They can see sentiment swinging against such sales. Besides, the bigger Latin countries today have new trade and diplomatic relationships with the Soviet Union, a potential new source of arms. Peru already has flirted with the idea of buying from Moscow.

Rockefeller is confident that President Nixon is sincerely interested in Latin America and already is moving to implement ideas brought home from the governor's first two, near-disastrous tours. The quality of recent appointments, and their timing, reflect no such interest. Joseph J. Jova, a career diplomat who does not have Mr. Nixon's ear, has succeeded Sol M. Linowitz as Ambassador to the Organization of American States. The Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America is Charles Meyer, a businessman with a United Fruit Company tie. The new Ambassador to Argentina, John Davis Lodge, fresh from Madrid, told a Senate hearing that Argentine President Ongania had come to power through the elective process, an error that received wide notice in Latin America.

Anyone who visits Latin America for any length of time soon realizes that the US establishments – the embassies and the business community – get along much better with strong-man governments than with populist regimes. In Rio de Janeiro, the common theme running through embassy conversations is that the military brought needed "stability," never mind the ever-growing number of persons jailed by the army, put on the political blacklist, and never mind the press censorship. When the military turned Brazil into a full dictatorship last December, the first reaction of the American Chamber of Commerce at San Paulo was to send a congratulatory telegram to President Arthur de Costa e Silva.

Similarly in Argentina. The generals were given high marks by US representatives. They, too, brought stability, and even allowed some personal liberties – until the first serious opposition became evident. Then, as events of the last several weeks illustrate, the army and the police cracked down. In Paraguay, which has the oldest dictatorship in Latin America (President Alfredo Stroessner came to power one year before François Duvalier of Haiti), the US Embassy "understands" why several newspapers were folded, why dissent is stifled and why under Stroessner Paraguay has a most stable economy – though illiteracy exceeds 60 percent, the per capita income seems stuck at $200 per year and food output per capita is actually declining.

In Guatemala, the largest of the Central American "republics," past US policies haunt North American policymakers. In 1954, when McCarthyism was at its height here, President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman was ousted with the help of the CIA and, reportedly, United Fruit because he was anti-US business and was flirting with the Communists. True or not, Arbenz was a reformer, and he went. In his place came two military dictators who lasted a dozen years, and in 1969 the US Embassy privately concedes that Guatemala still is immobilized socially and economically.

In the end, what proved the undoing of the Alliance for Progress was not lack of money – although in recent years its funding has been well under the original goal of $1 billion a year. Rather, it was an almost complete inability to build more viable institutions in Latin America to offset the military and to drum up even a minimum of national motivation among the elite. The building of such institutions in Latin America (as in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vietnam) is basically the task of the peoples there – not the US. The US might help, however, by *not* doing certain things, such as the Bay of Pigs or sending the Marines into the Dominican Republic. Washington's quick endorsement of military coups has in itself frustrated sincere reformers and fueled anti-Americanism among the young, the students, the intellectuals and even a growing minority of priests and bishops. Despite protests from a few Democrats in the Senate, the CIA and US military missions remain active in Guatemala, Bolivia, Venezuela and Nicaragua, helping to train the incumbent military and offset anti-government offenders, whatever their political stripes.

What Latin America needs is revolution, and if it does not come peacefully it will come violently. Post-World War II history shows such is the case in underdeveloped lands, when rising expectations are unfulfilled. The Nixon Administration thus has a choice: it can sit back and let events take their course, or it can seek an effective social and economic Monroe Doctrine. It can abandon the Alliance in name, but that program's basic objectives – to encourage self-help and motivation by encouraging more representative institutions and governments – remains sound. Channeling more money through international financial institutions would help too, not only giving more yield for a dollar but also disassociating Washington from repressive governments. Pressuring Congress, hazardous as it might be, to give Latin exports a better break in the US market would go a long way to bolstering Latin economies. Widening loan guarantees to US business that invests south of the border also would help – and cost little more money.

The alternative to this is easy and all-too-familiar. Give lip service to Latin America, hail Nelson Rockefeller's report, when he finally turns it in; make platitudinous speeches to Latin ambassadors and the OAS. Such a siesta policy may look safe, for today, but not for *mañana*.

# Support Your Local Police

Over their breakfast coffee on Saturday, May 24, readers of the San Francisco *Chronicle* were treated to a revealing first-person account of how more than 400 prisoners arrested at the Berkeley "people's park" demonstration two days earlier had fared at the hands of their captors. *Chronicle* reporter Tim Findley found himself among those swept up in the mass arrest and taken to the Alameda County Prison Farm in Santa Rita. His story, he admitted, sounded more like an account of a Marine recruit's first day at boot camp or a prisoner of war movie. According to his account, as soon as the prisoners got off the buses that had brought them to Santa Rita, they were forced to lie on their stomachs, their heads turned to the left, for two-and-one-half hours while the sheriff's deputies alternately threatened and assaulted them.

"Any of you creeps got a camera, put it out in front of your head," shouted a guard. "We find a camera later and we smash it and your head at the same time."

"Don't none of you move," yelled another. "We shoot to kill here."

"You think this is cold, creeps?" one asked the shirt-sleeved prisoners as the fog rolled in and darkness approached. "It really gets cold in a couple of hours. We'll leave you out here to freeze to death, maybe that will teach you to stay out of Berkeley."

After being searched and sometimes beaten, fingerprints were taken, one guard telling the prisoners, "Hell, we're going to keep track of you troublemakers. We're going to enforce the McCarran Act soon and put all you troublemakers in concentration camps."

Some of the prisoners told Findley that they had not been demonstrators. One zoology student said he had been buying stamps in a store when the National Guard had appeared. "I told them I wanted to leave," he said, "and they told me to go down to this corner. That was the corner where all the police were."

Sleep was not allowed at the prison farm and the captives were threatened by an unending succession of guards all night. Breakfast was served at 4:45 a.m. after the prisoners had been marched to the mess hall to such heckling as "Next time you riot, remember this," and "Wait till the boys get back from Vietnam and handle you creeps."

Finally, most of the prisoners were released on bail at an average of $800 per head, in the afternoon.

Findley's story created enough of a stir that an injunction was filed against Alameda County Sheriff Frank Madigan asking that he be restrained from mistreating prisoners.

Also, the San Francisco *Examiner*, whose coverage of the events at Berkeley had been solidly pro-law enforcement, suddenly showed up with a first-person story of its own: a letter from a student at Berkeley to her father that mildly chided the police.

An enterprising editor at the Associated Press picked up Findley's story and sent out a shortened version under his by-line with an editor's note explaining the circumstances. It was killed before it made the wire by an editor in Los Angeles who said it lacked "balancing comment."

No such comment was forthcoming until almost a week later when Sheriff Madigan, at a news conference, said he would discipline the deputies who used brutal tactics. Many of his deputies, Madigan said, were young Vietnam veterans and "they take a very dim view of this situation . . . they have a feeling that these prisoners should be treated like the Vietcong."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FCC Impropriety

Since the Federal Communications Commission was hauled before the Oren Harris Congressional investigating committee in the late 1950's, FCC decisions have prompted perennial charges that the Commission protects the industry it should regulate and ignores the public it is supposed to protect. The FCC's recent, hasty license renewal for station WPIX-TV New York City, without considering a takeover bid by an impressive community action group called Forum Communications, Inc., adds credence to the charges.

WPIX-TV is a $50-million operation run since 1948 by the *New York Daily News* and its interlocking *Chicago Tribune* multimedia cartel. From its aerial atop the Empire State Building, WPIX programs over seven million New York area television sets with reruns of network shows, film packages, and less news coverage than any station in the state. The station's three-year license came up for renewal with 175 other stations on June 1. The FCC, however, may grant renewals up to 30 days before a license expires – and according to industry-oriented regulations, the Commission will not accept competing applications once a license is renewed. Forum, which is owned by two dozen community leaders (including blacks and Puerto Ricans), television executives, businessmen and performers, learned from an FCC source early in May that "fierce pressures" were being put on the staff to renew the WPIX license as early as possible. Consequently, Forum petitioned the FCC on May 14 to hold off renewing the WPIX license until May 29, so it could have a "reasonable opportunity to file a competing application," which still required "extensive work for . . . proper preparation." On May 21, at a regular Wednesday meeting, the Commission denied the petition (Nicholas Johnson, FCC's public guardian, dissented) contending that "Forum has not shown any reasons for its lack of diligence in the preparation of a timely application that obviously could have been tendered for filing many months ago." But the commissioners told Forum it could still file "a timely application that would entitle it to comparative hearing" with WPIX.

When the Commission announced that decision in a public announcement the next day, Forum promptly filed an exhaustive 300-page application. The application included a 60-page analysis of New York area programming needs, based on interviews with 400 community leaders, and a 20-page description of proposed programs, geared mostly to local issues and talent. But it was too late. Two hours earlier, without the Commission's knowledge, FCC Broadcast Bureau chief George Smith had quietly pushed through the list of 175 early license renewals in the New York area – including WPIX-TV.

Evidence suggests that the early renewal was not a bureaucratic accident, but a deliberate effort to close the door on Forum. Granting Forum's petition for a "safe period," said the Commission, would have interfered with the "normal flow" of application processing – although at the same meeting, the Commission routinely deferred action on close to 100 other New York area licenses. (WPIX, in fact, was one of only two commercial New York City stations renewed early. And it was the only station challenged.) But Forum was not asking for an extension of the June 1 deadline – merely a guarantee that it would have full time up to the deadline to prepare as comprehensive an application as possible. "We could have filed a skeleton application long before," says Michael Finklestein, Forum's Washington counsel. "We had no reason to conclude that the painstaking care with which we prepared our application would be penalized by the Commission rather than rewarded."

The Commission, furthermore, agreed with an argument filed by WPIX on May 15 that Forum had failed to show any good reason why it should wait until the deadline to file an application. Under the FCC's own rules, however, a petitioner like Forum may have five business days to answer the opposition's response. Thus, the Commission should have granted Forum until May 22 to supply reasons it felt were lacking.

Once the Commission told Forum it could still file a "timely application," why did George Smith suddenly renew the WPIX license that same day? In the past year and two months, the FCC has never renewed licenses earlier than one week before their expiration date (except in one instance last July). And the Commission renews over 400 licenses every two months. Yet Smith, a staff functionary with autonomous control over licensing, maintains he acted in the "usual" manner. "I just put my signature on the renewals as the staff processes them," he says, although he doesn't explain why the staff processed the renewals so early this time. (George DuVall, assistant chief of the renewal branch, had assured Forum lawyers in April that the WPIX license would not be renewed until the last week in May.) In a highly confidential inter-office memorandum sent to the Commission on May 21, Smith specifically asked the commissioners not only to deny the Forum petition, but also to give him their blessings for a WPIX renewal the next day. When the Commission refused, and opted out with its instructions for "normal processing," Smith indicated to the FCC he would grant the renewals on Monday, May 26. Instead, he forged ahead without notifying the commissioners and renewed the licenses May 22.

While Smith was renewing the WPIX license "in the public interest," the Complaints and Compliance division of his Broadcast Bureau had on its desk a complaint charging that WPIX has used old films to illustrate breaking new events. Films of Rumania, for example, were allegedly broadcast to depict the recent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Czech crisis. A member of the TV station's staff first complained directly to WPIX administrative personnel; and a sympathetic third party sent it on to the FCC. William Ray, chief of complaints, claims he doesn't know just when the complaint turned up. His boss, George Smith, swears he didn't know the complaint existed until after he had already renewed the WPIX license. But sources indicate that Ray, at least, had the complaint in his hands before the renewal. The incident, Forum charges, is a "gross violation of the bureau's responsibility." FCC investigators are currently in New York checking on the complaint, according to FCC officials. WPIX declines comment.

The WPIX-Forum case again raises the question whether the FCC protects the public interest. Commissioner Nicholas Johnson says it does not. In June 1968, the FCC renewed the license of WLBT-TV, Jackson, Mississippi, despite efforts by church and civil rights groups to prove the station broadcast segregationist views to an audience 47 percent black. Four months later, the Commission refused hearings on KSL-TV in Salt Lake City, though citizens had a strong case that mass media there were concentrated in a few hands.

The FCC treats people outside the industry like frivolous children who burden it with meaningless paperwork (one high FCC official sneered "Forum can't be very serious"). Forum's 300-page application, which describes in detail how the group would devote 48 hours each week to racial, political and economic issues affecting the local community, is hardly frivolous. Yet FCC Chairman Rosel Hyde, who is scheduled to retire June 30, insists that allowing Forum to submit its application would have been "contrary to the interest and spirit of the Communications Act."

Forum has petitioned the FCC to reconsider the entire case – which is so suspect that even the House special subcommittee on investigations has started looking into it, according to a Congressional staff source. If the Commission decides to reconsider, it must pit WPIX-TV and Forum against each other in comparative hearings (WPIX, accordingly, has quietly added several news shows to its weekly schedule). If the Commission refuses, Forum will sue in the Court of Appeals, where the FCC has lost close to half of its cases. In the meantime, Sen. John O. Pastore (D., R.I.), chairman of the Senate communications subcommittee, will diligently try to pass a bill which would further protect the broadcasting industry from the public, by prohibiting challenges to a station unless the FCC first determines the station has violated the "public interest." Bureaucratic inertia and ineptness alone would guarantee the public would seldom be heard. For the FCC, as Commissioner Johnson points out, regards "public intruders as some sort of unfamiliar pestilence to be scourged from its corridors."

**Daniel Zwerdling**

# Poor Head Start And Its Children

*The New Republic* commented several weeks ago ("How Head a Head Start?", April 26) on the finding of the Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio University that children from Head Start programs are no wiser, happier, readier for learning than children who enter public schools without the advantages of Head Start. They suggested that Head Start kids fail to score higher, once in public schools, because "poor children have been so badly damaged in infancy by their lower class environment that Head Start cannot make much difference."

I have been working three years now with 25 black children – ages two-and-a-half to five – in the midst of a ghetto. Not far from us is a Head Start program which I have observed carefully. If it fails to prepare its children for life in public schools, it is not so much because of "lower class environment" as because those who administer the program know little about children. I have watched children from homes that are at best gently horrific grow into strong, happy youngsters, ready to cope with public schools and themselves; I have never seen a child in our small school – except for a few who had been mortally wounded in spirit – who once given freedom and a sense of self did not begin to thrive.

The Head Start program I've watched marches under the dreary flags of the middle class. If a child learns his alphabet and times tables, keeps his hands clean, picks up his rubbers and walks in a straight line crossing the street – then, he's making it. But for a black child of two or three, childhood and its strategies are primary; alphabet and good manners secondary.

Head Start establishes a regimen for its children that is a mixture of misunderstood Montessori, misunderstood Summerhill, and schooling in manners. The children pine away. Much time is spent washing dishes, playing house, piling blocks, sitting in circles singing inane songs, walking in two's to the bathroom, eating lunch around a masonite table as if they were in the presence of the Lord.

A crucial worry always is discipline. Of course most black parents hate to see their children "undisciplined," since one of the problems parents have to face as their children grow up is the terrible disorder of the streets over which they have no control. But discipline is not in a teacher or a method, but within a child. A child wants to know what he can do, not what he cannot do. From what I have seen in our school there is a flourishing order and structure in children. They feel childhood the way colts feel the pasture. It is our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

task to let them out into that pasture. But that is not for Head Start. It is frightened that if school ranges into the universe of a child's inner life, some OEO "guideline" will be ignored and funds subsequently threatened.

I suggested once to a Head Start administrator that the children hunt for birthday prizes in the local streets. But the streets are "alien land," places of non-structure and "non-manners." The administrator had the prizes hidden in a dreary gymnasium. Head Start children do not move unless they are tagged, bused, prepared as if they were going to the moon. I say: get them into a subway, show them the world. Children have a natural sense of safety. No. A trip to the Museum of Natural History, two miles away, must be taken in a chartered bus. When I took my children for a walk down Fifth Avenue a lady in Head Start shouted at me that such a trip would be a "cultural shock": "Take them to Macy's and Gimbels, that's where they'll go when they have to buy things."

Head Start is tricked by a strange delusion that education comes from "outside," and that if one could only get the "right teachers," the "right methods," all would be well. But education comes to a child when he begins learning to love his freedom, his self and the event the gods bestow on him freely and with no racist strings: childhood.

The children in the school of which I have been director are aware of the streets, the addicts, the dirt, the drunks, the pushers; and themselves, their condition, their poverty, their family troubles. Most important, they are aware of their childhood. It is hard to define "childhood," but I am sure it has something to do with a child's feeling that each day brings some extraordinary revelation, some gift of life. I have told my staff that before a child in Harlem learns the alphabet, numbers, or reading he must learn how to play, how to see the streets as that "dark night" he must pass through if he is to be saved. If a Head Start child fares no better in public schools than another, it is because Head Start does what the other schools do – they demolish the child's interior life and then lay on alphabets, good manners, clean tables and toilet etiquette.

It will be objected that I seem to dismiss too easily reading and writing and arithmetic as proper concerns of Head Start. But the reason why so many black children leave school the minute they can is not merely that they fail their class work but because very early, they did not begin to believe in themselves, and hence begin to "learn." Peter L. who cannot read a first grade book is sixteen. The foundation of his being, his childhood, never existed for him. When he got into public school he could not cope with himself, with learning, the system, the streets. Head Start fails for many reasons but the most serious is that it cannot risk allowing a child to run the full range of his childhood. It tightens him up, "orders" him, "structures" him, makes him "like everyone else," sends him dull and crippled into public school.

Certain changes should be made. To begin with, every Head Start classroom should be in full view of the community the children live in. I'd use storefronts and brownstones.

The Head Start programs I know are dominated by women. The children are surrounded by strong, intuitive black women. The trouble is not with the women, but with the life they build for the children: safe, neat and as unrealistic as if the children were going to school in the ballroom of a castle. The streets are shuttered out. The order of the day is measured: each thing in its place, each place fixed. The Head Start bureaucracy is a spider of meetings, late payrolls, threats of cut funds, no funds, new guidelines. I would hope that a man could direct most Head Start programs. It must seem narrow of me to insist on this, but nothing is more calculated to reduce a place of learning into a "household" than women running it without interference of a man. Black children need a black man to see to it that their lives are not reduced to cleanliness and order. If a black man and a black woman can administer a program together, this would be ideal.

Classrooms I have seen have been models of dullness. The toys the children play with are cheap, plastic, ugly and calculated to turn a child against beauty. I have seen puzzles that depict what their designers thought were scenes of life that would reach the imagination of a child: hospital examination rooms, supermarkets, dentist offices, fire stations. They were scenes posed by live models. Each human figure was carefully kept intact. When I asked why, I was told that it is unhealthy for a child to see a human figure dismembered!

I have attended Head Start in-service seminars where teachers were taught how to teach play. But a child is not taught to play; children are "playing" creatures. The children in my school have learned to play because they have been let alone with toys. From nine to ten every morning they play; more accurately they play the entire day and in the range of play are moments when they direct their play toward some specific task: drawing, painting, modeling in clay, looking at books, visiting the city, walking down 125th Street, singing, dancing. They are allowed the solitude of their inner life. In Head Start a solitary, a silent, or worse, a wild child, is the "odd one." I have met children who have been "dropped out" of Head Start. In our school they thrived. They were let free to explore their extravagance.

If Head Start simply means giving a poor child what everyone else has, only earlier, it is useless. What Head Start must do is to give the children an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

experience of freedom and that precious sense of childhood where the power, vision and hope take root.

I would begin to effect these changes by giving direction of Head Start agencies to local committees (not merely committees of parents of Head Start children). I would insist that *they* decide the kind of program the children would be submitted to and the kind of "educational theories" that would direct the day to day running of the Head Start classrooms. They must be free to seek out ways of giving Head Start children that feeling of life and self that is the bedrock of all learning.

**Charles Smith**

# Back from Midway

## by John Osborne

While Richard Nixon and President Thieu of South Vietnam conferred at the naval officers' club on Midway Island, beneath a huge painting of two gooney birds cocking their bony snoots and thrusting their white breasts at each other in their majestic preliminary to copulation, I sat on the wall of an abandoned cistern in front of the enlisted men's club and communed with a live and personable baby gooney. The swarming gooneys, among them the chick who favored me with its beady stare and an occasional snap of its fearsome beak, were excellent company for a reporter who was in the throes of trying to sort the true from the false in the official accounts of why Nixon and Thieu made their long journeys to Midway and of what they undertook to accomplish there. Improbable creatures that they are, the gooneys demonstrated that the improbable is possible. By a process of association that I know to be absurd, they made it seem not only possible but likely that Nixon and his spokesmen were telling us of the accompanying press a part of the truth and implying the whole of it in their accounts of "the Midway summit."

President Thieu said after the meeting that it had been "very useful." The "White House sources" to whom we were exposed at President Nixon's order, before and after the meeting, agreed with this judgment in terms that explained to my satisfaction why President Thieu looked a good deal less happy than he said he was when he took a farewell salute from the American honor guard and departed for Saigon in a chartered American airliner. I think that he realized then, as he had appeared to suspect when he publicly requested the meeting, that Mr. Nixon has made up his mind to do whatever he has to do in order to extricate the United States from the Vietnam war. Neither Thieu nor the reporters who followed Nixon to Midway and back to Washington were told this, of course. It is a conclusion derived from what Nixon allowed the "White House sources" who spoke for him to say about the Midway meeting. It is not the conclusion that the President's spokesmen intended to encourage. The conclusion that they would prefer and indorse is that there is a point beyond which the President is not prepared to go, a price larger than the price that he is prepared to pay, in order either to end the war by negotiation or to bring about a total American withdrawal from it. But, assuming as I do that the President's "White House sources" gave a true (though limited) account of his purposes and hopes on the way to and back from gooney-land, I do not see how any conclusion other than the one that I have stated can be drawn.

A word about the aforementioned "White House sources" is necessary. The White House requires that "they" be cited in the plural, without a name, and without direct quotation. "They" perform only on special occasions, such as Nixon's May 14 statement of Vietnam policy and his Midway trip, when the President is particularly anxious that the reporting and interpretation conform with his view of the facts. They speak with his authority and, more to the point in foreign policy matters, with the full authority of Henry A. Kissinger, the President's assistant for national security affairs. It became more evident than ever during the Midway trip that Nixon's Vietnam policy is Kissinger policy. The official roster of the delegation with Nixon at Midway listed Kissinger ahead of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who was also there. When a reporter noted the fact, made clear during the trip, that the chief American negotiator in Paris, Henry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cabot Lodge, who was also at Midway, did not share Kissinger's heady belief that Hanoi and the National Liberation Front were just about ready for serious negotiations, the "White House sources" retorted that Kissinger's estimate was the President's estimate and that was that.

The one piece of hard news that emerged from the Midway meeting was Nixon's decision to withdraw "the division equivalent" of 25,000 American troops from Vietnam by the end of August. The cautious phrasing of the announcement, and the stipulation that further withdrawals are subject to further review of the war situation, invited a suspicion that this was a token gesture. It was more than that. We were told, and I believe, that the President ordered this first withdrawal in full awareness that a mistake in his calculation of the military realities would be irretrievable. We were not told, but what we were told suggests, that he also ordered it in awareness that it begins a process of disengagement that may be slowed but cannot be halted once it has been started. His and our "White House sources" never mentioned the mollifying effect that it and the qualified promise of further withdrawals are intended to have upon American opponents of the war. They preferred to emphasize, though with the greatest caution, the effect that it may have upon Hanoi. The hope is that it will persuade Hanoi that it will do better to settle the war now rather than to sustain indefinite struggle with South Vietnamese forces so strengthened that they can do their own fighting, for as long as may be necessary, without the support of American combat troops. The fear, freely acknowledged, is that it may have the opposite effect of convincing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front that they have only to hold fast until the Americans bug out for good and all. The "White House sources" said that Nixon was timing this and future withdrawals, and determining the proportions of combat and noncombat forces to be included in them, partly to guard against the all-too-possible conclusion, in Hanoi and at home, that he was really planning and doing his best to conceal an elegant form of bugging out.

The press had done Nixon a large favor by letting its preoccupation with the advance rumors of impending troop withdrawals obscure the political issues that were actually paramount in Saigon and at the Paris negotiations, and he took advantage of the fact by making the most of his decision to begin withdrawal. It was significant, however, that before and after the Midway conference the "White House sources" discussed the political issues at length and with seeming frankness. Unless we on the trip were deliberately deceived, and I don't believe we were, the following may be stated as fact.

Nixon joins Thieu in rejecting, *for the present*, any deal in Paris or Saigon that would give the National Liberation Front places in an interim coalition government or that in any other way would assure the NLF a share of power in South Vietnam by any means other than popular elections. But, as Secretary Rogers said publicly before he went to Midway and as the "White House sources" said with maximum emphasis, the Nixon Administration is not "wedded" to the Thieu regime in the way that Washington has been committed to incumbent Saigon regimes since the 1950's. The cumulative effect of the guidance offered along the way to and from the Pacific meeting induced an impression that the Administration may very well, at some point not now foreseen, go along with a settlement that brings the NLF into a Saigon government without elections. It was said, first off and then on the reportable record, that the Administration views with calm the possibility that portions of South Vietnam may remain after the war in the control of the NLF, much as portions of the country now are, regardless of the government nominally ruling from Saigon. Nixon is on record, and Thieu is expected soon to be, with a willingness to admit the NLF to any mixed or international commissions that may be agreed upon in Paris to oversee elections and the political campaigns that would precede them. Such a commission or combination of commissions could and probably would, in effect, supersede the incumbent government for purposes of controlling the political processes of South Vietnam. Once the Nixon Administration accepts, as it has, the prospect of NLF participation in the actual government of South Vietnam to this extent, its formal insistence that "the will of the people" rather than the will of the Paris negotiators determine the terms and consequences of a settlement becomes a diminishing factor in the American position.

If there is a valid reason to discount the impressions reported here, it is that they arise from statements made in the hope that they will bring Hanoi and the NLF into the serious negotiations which Nixon, led to his conclusion by Kissinger, believes to be near at hand. When the President said upon his return from Midway that "we have opened the door to peace" and that "now we invite the leaders of North Vietnam to walk with us through that door," he was not indulging in mere rhetoric. He was expressing a hope, a hope voiced with something close to desperation by his "White House sources," that is in fact the basis of the whole American position. If the same sources are to be believed, the President realizes that a bargaining position based upon gimmickry and deliberate deception would constitute the worst of follies because Hanoi and the NLF, not to mention President Thieu in Saigon, would see it for what it was and throw it back at him with disastrous consequences for him and for his hopes of settling the war.

Critics of the Nixon posture to date, along with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many who find it hard to place anything near full confidence in Richard Nixon, are under some obligation to acknowledge the extent to which he, in the interest of drawing Hanoi and the NLF into serious discussion of a bearable settlement of the war, has exposed the folly of the American presence and commitment in South Vietnam. The premise upon which the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Administrations based the commitment and the intervention required to fulfill it was that a Communist South Vietnam would endanger the security of the United States. When Nixon says that the United States is quite prepared to accept either an all-Communist government or one that includes Communists in Saigon, and that the United States no longer undertakes to support a non-Communist regime simply because it is non-Communist, he abandons the premise and clears the way, if such be the eventual necessity, for leaving the two Vietnams, North and South, to their own devices and fates.

On his way to Midway and on Midway, Nixon said that he does not propose to back away from or diminish "the American role in the world." How to reconcile his broad and ringing definition of that role at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs with his manifest desire to get out of the Vietnam war may be difficult for some people but it clearly is not for him. If he perceives any real conflict between the two positions, he is better at deception than I have thought he was.

# The Vicious Acronyms

## by Ralph E. Lapp

The Nixon Administration is struggling with defense decisions that involve a rather horrendous technology, symbolized by three and four letter acronyms like ABM, MIRV and AMSA.

ABM is now a household gambit and MIRV is a "word" that has found its way into the vocabulary of the Secretary of State. The multiple, independently targeted, reentry vehicle is a technological development that is symptomatic of modern research and development. It is a kind of "technological happening" which has emerged from the idea stage into the reality of defense hardware mostly because it was possible. Like the H-bomb, when it became technologically "sweet," it became ineluctable.

How did MIRV come about? It is generally assumed that MIRV was a development "hedge" against the possibility that someday the Soviets might deploy an ABM system. That is, each US missile such as Minuteman or Polaris could be fitted with multiple warheads in order to penetrate a ballistic-missile defense. But last summer Senator Mike Mansfield asked the Pentagon's research chief, John S. Foster, Jr., the following question:

*Is it not true that the US response to the discovery that the Soviets had made an initial deployment of an ABM system around Moscow and possibly elsewhere was to develop the MIRV system for Minuteman and Polaris?*

*Answer:* Not entirely. The MIRV concept was originally generated to increase our targeting capability rather than to penetrate ABM defenses. In 1961-62 planning for targeting the Minuteman force it was found that the total number of aim points exceeded the number of Minuteman missiles.

Buried on page 2310 of Part IV of the Senate hearings on defense appropriations, this response is a pure shaft of candor illuminating dimly lit rooms in the

---

Ralph E. Lapp *is the author of* The Weapons Culture. *In next week's* New Republic *he will present his proposals for safeguarding the national security, without resort to deploying a $10-billion ABM system.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pentagon. A Soviet planner would surely interpret this answer as meaning that the United States was beefing up its strategic deterrent so as to have a first-strike capability.

Minuteman III, currently under testing, will throw three 0.2 megaton warheads at individual targets in the Soviet Union. Accuracy of the MIRV system is claimed to exceed that for Minuteman II. If the Minuteman MIRV system is now meant to override Soviet defenses, why the obsession with accuracy? Hard-headed Soviet planners must make the worst possible assumption about MIRV, namely, that it is silo-targeted. Whatever the reasons that have directed the evolution of US strategic deterrent power, the fact remains that in the 1973-74 period the US can have a throw-capacity of 10,000 MIRV's. The bulk of the throwable warheads will be aboard Poseidon, the follow-on to Polaris.

Each underseas-launched Poseidon missile can accommodate up to 14 MIRV's. To be sure they are not as potent as those aboard Minuteman III. Splitting up the payload into 14 separate packages, each equipped with a heat shield, results in a very small warhead. This limits the nuclear bang to something in the range of the Nagasaki bomb. So Poseidon is more understandably a second-strike weapon since the accuracy requirement to knock out a Soviet silo becomes extreme. But will the Soviets believe it?

It may well be that Soviet leaders are convinced that the United States is aiming for a first-strike capability. This may explain why the SS-9, the triple-warheaded ICBM so much dreaded by Defense Secretary Laird and Mr. Foster is still being deployed. If so, we are then caught up in an arms spiral whose architecture was made-in-America. In a real sense we are all sacrificed on the bloody altar of a tyrannical technology.

Mr. Nixon, in his advocacy of the Safeguard ABM system, has stressed its nonprovocative nature and has viewed with alarm the dangers of escalating the arms race. But Secretary of State Rogers in his press conference remarks of June 4th seemed unperturbed by the potential of MIRV tests for destabilizing the arms equilibrium. The upcoming strategic arms limitations talks (SALT) could turn to water if MIRV technology is a *fait accompli* before agreements can be reached. In its zeal to possess new weapons, is the Defense Department steam-rolling MIRV to completion before the talks begin?

The United States and the Soviet Union face an inspection problem far tougher than that involved in the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty if they wish to police an agreement on the limitation of deployed strategic warheads. Our orbital intelligence-gathering devices may be relied on to observe ICBM installations in the Soviet Union. But these satellite sensors simply look down on the earth's surface; they cannot see through a silo-cover. Only an on-site inspector with a screwdriver can count the number of MIRV's concealed in an SS-9. Furthermore, the MIRV inspector would have to keep his eye everlastingly fixed on the missile to be sure that a new nuclear Hydra was not slipped into place.

Many experts on arms control regard the MIRV problem as a dead end in reaching any limitations on strategic armaments. Orbital devices can count missiles if each nation should agree on some limit to the ICBM's. But given Mr. Laird's jitters about the SS-9's capabilities how could the two major nuclear powers arrive at a balance of power? The diehards in the US Senate would argue until doomsday that we could not trust the Russians. They would argue that if we agreed on 600 Minutemen with triple warheads vs. 600 SS-9's with triple warheads, we would never know when the Soviets might refit the SS-9 with 10 warheads. Then they would have 6,000 throwable warheads and we would have only 1,800. And one could never be sure of what was happening to underseas nuclear firepower.

If we consider what Mr. Nixon and the Republican arms stalwarts were saying before election, it is unlikely that they will accept any disparity in nuclear weapon power. Just before election Mr. Nixon rejected nuclear parity because – in his words, "this parity concept means superiority for potential enemies." It's true that in his first press conference President Nixon referred to "nuclear sufficiency" but this rhetoric seemed to have little influence on the thinking of his defense secretary whose views on superiority are too well known to require recitation.

When Mr. Nixon sat down at his White House desk and took a look at the Pentagon's numbers on US vs. SU nuclear power he must have been struck by the fact that sometime before the deployment of Minuteman III and Poseidon multiplies the US striking power, the Soviets might equal or forge ahead of the United States in numbers of ICBM's. Coming in 1970 during the mid-term elections, this lack of superiority could be annoying. But it would be positively dangerous for this inequity to persist until Mr. Nixon's time of maximum political danger – 1972. His detractors could argue that he had allowed the two decades of American nuclear superiority to slide away. His counter argument that US nuclear firepower would again top that of the Soviets in the future would be weak because it had been engineered by the Democrats while in power.

Sighting along this trajectory, it is easy to understand why Mr. Nixon opted for transforming Lyndon Johnson's Sentinel ABM program into a deterrent-protecting Safeguard system. He could point to his initiative in assuring the nation's security while self-righteously averring that he had not accelerated the arms race by being provocative. To be sure, Safeguard is a defensive system – so is the Soviet Galosh ring

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

around Moscow, but this deployment of 67 missiles of questionable interceptory capability has certainly provoked the United States. In his June 3rd testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, former Budget Director Charles L. Schultze estimates the Minuteman III-Poseidon deployment as costing $10- to $11-billion. Incidentally, Schultze's analysis of US weapons systems is the most penetrating that I have come across.

If the Soviets react to Safeguard the way we responded to Galosh, the arms race will run at full throttle. Conceivably they have already set in motion defense measures based on Mr. McNamara's Sept. 18, 1967 announcement of the US decision to deploy a nationwide ABM system. This may account for the 1968 speedup in Soviet ICBM production – along the lines of Mr. McNamara's "action-reaction" dictum. Mr. Laird might argue that Phase I of Safeguard is confined to Minuteman defense in Montana and North Dakota and that this limited deployment of missiles and radars should not provoke any massive Soviet response. However, Phase II of Safeguard probably appears to the Soviets like a carbon copy of the 1967 Sentinel System – and as the first step toward a thick shield, i.e. a Nike-X defense to ward off the lash of a Soviet second strike. Pentagon officials have now openly admitted that the original Sentinel allowed such an interpretation.

As a matter of fact even the "action-reaction" concept is not really valid because reaction by deploying a weapons system is impossible unless it is ready to be produced. In other words, the research and development has to be accomplished if reaction is to be demonstrated. Mr. Foster, the defense R&D chief, revealed his philosophy in this regard while testifying before Senator Stennis' Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee:

> "Now most of the action the United States takes in the area of research and development have to do with one or two types of activities.
>
> "Either we see from the field of science and technology some new possibilities which we think we ought to exploit, or we see threats on the horizon, possible threats, usually not something the enemy has done but something we have thought ourselves that he might do, we must therefore be prepared for. These are the two forces that tend to drive our research and development activities."

Again we face a tyrannical ogre, a remorseless technology, a dictator compelling both us and the Soviets to bring forth whatever weapons systems *can* be made. Once a nation makes a multi-billion dollar investment in a weapons system, then as Senator Fulbright has expressed it – the system may "soon acquire its own powerful constituency." In the case of the ABM, R&D costs mounted to $4 billion – enough to buy quite a constituency.

Mr. Nixon cannot help but be aware of the ABM constituents, especially the aerospace contractors who will profit from the $10-billion first installment of what may mushroom into a $60-billion program stretching to the 1980's. Make no mistake about it, the aerospace industry is the hard core of the military-industrial complex. It accounts for well over half of all prime military contract awards. The care and feeding of the aerospace industry has become a federal responsibility.

When President Eisenhower warned of the dangers of the "military-industrial complex," aerospace sales amounted to $17 billion per year, of which $14 billion were to one customer, the US Government. John F. Kennedy campaigned for President on the basis of a "missile gap" at a time when General Dynamics inched toward the brink of bankruptcy. Kennedy's Apollo moon program gave aerospace a $5 billion annual sales boost and his arms policies sustained missile-aircraft production – and such firms as General Dynamics and Lockheed. Federal contracts were further boosted by the war in Vietnam so that as of last year aerospace sales totaled $30 billion. Needless to say the federal sales accounted for a lion's share.

*"Let's not spoil a good thing."*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Six companies – General Dynamics, Lockheed, North American-Rockwell, L-T-V, McDonnell Douglas and Boeing – racked up close to $9 billion in space-defense sales. Each $19,000 the government funds to this industry represents one worker-year and probably influences 4 or 5 votes. General Dynamics and Lockheed count on government orders for 85 percent of their business. Professor Galbraith has observed: "These firms are private only in the imagination." The geographic concentration of aerospace plants produces a political leverage that disrupts the normal checks and balances of a democracy. The geopolitics of defense is a triangulated process in which military, political and industrial components are tightly interlocked. Plants are located in states and districts of powerful congressional leaders, usually chairmen of appropriations and policy committees. Defense orders flow to these favored states and districts. Political leaders promote defense policy and programs that unleash a flood of funds to these contractors. It is not a conspiracy but it is sinistrous.

The significance of the great debate over ABM and Safeguard is that democracy is making a valiant attempt to bring the military-industrial-political complex under effective control.

Consider, for example, the stake of the aerospace industries whose economic fortunes are tied to ABM, MIRV, AMSA and the other acronyms. Their $30-billion sales last year were propped up by Vietnam and partly by Apollo. Slackening of military needs in Southeast Asia and a failure to fund a post-Apollo program will cause aerospace sales to dip. Aerospace companies are looking for $100 billion in new business for the 1970-1980 period. And they are looking to the Pentagon and Capitol Hill for the means to sell these programs. AMSA, the advanced manned strategic aircraft, is promoted by Laird and his associates as the essential follow-on to the B-52. The Pentagon attaches a bargain-basement price tag of $9 billion to developing and producing 200 of these bombers. While Mr. Laird professes to be scared stiff about the vulnerability of 1,000 Minutemen encased in concrete underground silos, he seems little concerned about 200 AMSA's each of which can be crumpled by a blast one-sixtieth that required to knock out a Minuteman.

The layman may well ask – can't the aerospace industry abandon its limpet adherence to the federal government and seek business elsewhere? A number of aerospace firms have reduced their dependence on federal dollars; for example, Boeing derives only a third of its income from the government. But when General Dynamics, for instance, attempts to cut loose it has to compete with Boeing for aircraft sales. Such commercial sales are not big enough to go around in the aerospace industry. When it comes to having these specialized aircraft-missile builders invade the non-aerospace commercial market, the prospects are not very bright. General Dynamics won't get very far making refrigerators in today's marketplace. The pull-and-tug of the free enterprise system could thoroughly wreck the economic fortunes of single-customer companies like General Dynamics.

Aerospace companies aspire to being classed as a growth industry and they therefore strive to get more federal business each year. The Dallas-based L-T-V (Ling-Temco-Vought) firm is a case in point. When LBJ was Vice President the company ranked 61st on the Pentagon's list of top contractors, having only $47 million in orders. L-T-V jumped to 8th place last year with $758 million in defense awards. Defense-based industry like L-T-V aspires to more of the defense dollar but when this short-changes its competitors, as a tightened Pentagon budget may dictate, the aerospace business will be in trouble.

A defeat on the ABM front would blight the fortunes of some of the Pentagon's largest contractors. Cutbacks in the F-111 program, the setback on the Cheyenne helicopter, the criticism of Lockheed's C-5A Galaxy super-cargo plane and an uncertain future for NASA are portentous. Accordingly, Wall Street has assigned record low price-to-earnings ratios for Lockheed and other aerospace stocks. The handwriting on the wall in this case happens to be quotations displayed on the board.

Defense industry, smarting under accusations emanating from democracy's delayed take on the "military-industrial complex," has looked to its military-political patrons for help. Mr. Laird, the new man at the helm, appears to have thrown overboard not a life-preserver but an anchor. In the case of ABM, the Laird-Packard team could not leave well enough alone. Rather than doctor up the ailing Sentinel System, already funded under the previous Administration, they executed another swerve in policy on ballistic missile defense and invented Safeguard – a means of protecting the Minuteman silos. To backstop this new system, the Pentagon had to replace Mr. McNamara's "greater-than-expected threat" projections with what one defense critic called "greater-than-believable" threats. Stroke by stroke Mr. Laird painted himself (and Mr. Packard and Mr. Foster) into a corner. To make a case for the vulnerability of Minuteman, the Pentagon has to resort to stacking "worst possible assumption" on top of "maximum feasible threat."

The US Congress, which had obligingly appropriated over $80 billion for strategic forces in the past decade, was suddenly confronted with the contention that these were suddenly vulnerable to a first strike. Cold War scholars, hard-line defense intellectuals and a chorus of ex-generals and admirals chanted their concurrences. But the incantations failed to mesmerize the defense-skeptics on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Secretary Laird, seated at the console of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pentagon's mighty organ, thumped out the regular notes of fear, but the ritual response was lacking. Vietnam, the *Pueblo*, the F-111, the Sentinel and urban chaos combined to create a new, questioning, mood.

No matter what the Senate vote on ABM, it must face up to the acronym's alter ego, MIRV. Mr. Laird's first-strike scare at least served to focus attention on nuclear policy and on the future of the arms race. It appears that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was better briefed on MIRV than Secretary of State Rogers, who knew the meaning of the letters but not the significance of the weapons system. After his casual treatment of MIRV in his June 4th press conference, Mr. Rogers – to quote John W. Finney's report in *The New York Times* (June 6th) – "was given a quick course by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today on the intricacies of nuclear disarmament." Emerging from Senator Fulbright's school of nuclear knowledge, the Secretary of State told reporters: "It might be that if MIRV tests are successful in the next few months, this will present new problems of inspection."

Students of decision-making might suggest that the State Department needs some high-level bridge across the Potomac to expedite communication on the strategic implications of arms developments. However, the mechanism for such dialog has been in existence for years in the form of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In fact, ACDA actually held a conference of experts on MIRV some years ago. Top men in the agency are fully aware of MIRV's meaning for arms control, but apparently they had not yet managed to conduct a teach-in at the State Department.

Meanwhile both nuclear giants proceed to lob multiple warheads at targets in the Pacific. It is as though the military on both sides want to perfect MIRV before their negotiators start talking. A little appreciated aspect of MIRV technology is that a first-strike system is more complex than a retaliatory system. In his analysis of a Soviet first-strike threat, John S. Foster, Jr., postulates a MIRV system capable of sensing if it directs a warhead off-course. In this case, the information is telemetered back to the launch sites and a back-up SS-9, with its 3 MIRV's targeted on silos left "uncovered" by MIRV malfunctions, is launched. This ultra-sophisticated MIRV system, self-sensing and automatically capable of rectifying its error, is one which the United States disavows. Neither the number of MIRV's aboard an SS-9 or a Minuteman or a Poseidon is ascertainable in silo or underseas – nor is the first-strike MIRV mechanism.

As in the case of underground nuclear tests, inspection proved to be an impenetrable barrier to agreement on a treaty, so it appears that the MIRV inspection problem is without technical solution. Nations of the world were able to agree on a limited or three-environment test ban, forbidding nuclear explosions in air, sea and space. A limited missile treaty does not appear to be very meaningful. Moreover, technology gives little hope of birthing a Hercules to slay the missile-Hydra. We are belatedly beginning to sense what Mr. McNamara had on his mind when he spoke of the "mad momentum intrinsic to the development of all new nuclear weaponry."

## Reparations for Blacks?

# Putting It to the Churches

## by Stephen C. Rose

In late April, more than 500 black militants met in Detroit for the first National Black Economic Development Conference. The three-day meeting was the brainchild of Lucius Walker, the youthful director of the Interreligious Conference for Community Organization, which funded the meeting. It was, said Walker, the first major attempt to link issues of local community organization to the broad question of economic development for millions of blacks who find little help in token programs of Black Capitalism.

Among the invited speakers at the Detroit meeting

Stephen C. Rose *is editor-at-large of* Christianity and Crisis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was James Forman, International Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and it was here that Forman chose to gamble on the willingness of the Detroit 500 to be "taken over," the possibility of firing the imagination of uncommitted blacks with a new strategy, and the readiness of the religious establishment to divest itself of some $500 million in what Forman (unfortunately) called "reparations." ("The word reparation is a problem for some," says Lucius Walker. "But our concern is to get funds to where they are needed. Either we get reform bloody quick, or bloody revolution.")

Subsequent publicity has played up Forman's dramatic confrontation at Riverside Church in New York, where on May 4 he read demands from a pulpit vacated by the church's ministers, or the occupation of national Presbyterian offices by supporters of Forman's crusade in a successful effort to wring concessions from the 3.2-million-member Presbyterian denomination. But the story begins with Forman's Manifesto – a highly rhetorical presentation of suggestions put forth at the Detroit conference.

The introduction to the Manifesto is the speech which Forman delivered, entitled "Total Control as the Only Solution to the Problems of Black People." "Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese" he said, "for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts go out to our brothers in Africa, Santo Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the US which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. . . . We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the hands of rich people and placed in the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean by total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists."

But how? Forman ended by declaring that "we" had the "revolutionary right" to seize power at the Detroit Conference based on the program in the Manifesto.

Essentially, the Manifesto of which the Detroit Conference approved by a two-to-one margin – but with 100 abstentions – is a general prescription for political and cultural solidarity among blacks and for the beginning of independent economic development along separatist lines. It proposes that the $500 million needed to implement the demands of the Manifesto be raised as reparations from American Christians and Jews. Lucius Walker says that the debate in Detroit was not over the rhetoric of the document ("White Christian churches are . . . used by the government . . . to exploit the people of Latin America. . . . To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues"), but over whether Forman's specific proposals were radical enough.

The Manifesto calls for $200 million for a Southern land bank for "people who want to establish cooperative farms"; $40 million for the establishing of four publishing and printing industries in major cities; $40 million to establish "four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual networks"; a research skills center funded by a grant of $30 million; a second center ($10 million) to teach communications and community organizing skills; $10 million to organize welfare recipients and caseworkers "so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system"; $20 million to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund; the establishment of a United Black Appeal headed by Forman and aimed at raising money to implement programs of the National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC), support African liberation movements, and establish a Black Anti-Defamation League; and finally $130 million to endow a new black university to be established in the South.

The idea of the United Black Appeal has been approved by the NBEDC Steering Committee, a group made up largely of persons who have been active in community organizations and church social action work. The steering committee is still in process of formation but it includes the Rev. James Breeden, Director of the Massachusetts Council of Church's Commission on Religion and Race; Georgia legislator Julian Bond; Fannie Lou Hamer; Father Lawrence Lucas; the Rev. Cain Felder, new director of Black Methodists for Church Renewal; the Rev. Metz Rollins, Executive Director of the National Committee of Black Clergy; Howard Fuller of the Fund for Community Development; black theologian Vincent Harding; professor of economics Robert Brown of Fairleigh Dickinson University; Washington, D.C. Methodist Woodie Wright; and Forman.

With the formation of the Committee and its acceptance of his Manifesto, Forman got over his first hurdle. But how widely it will win acceptance in the black community at large remains to be seen. The National Committee of Black Clergy issued a supportive state-

**COMING:** Robert Coles and Harry Huge tell the story of peonage in Florida

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment following the Detroit meeting, but older black leaders have criticized both Forman and the Manifesto for extremist and separatist tendencies. The Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., new president of the American Baptist denomination, suggests that already established funding procedures would have to be brought into play to effect a compromise between Forman's separatism and the political realities of church programming.

Both blacks and whites have been critical of the tactic of disrupting worship. Forman, incidentally, has "disrupted" only one service – at Riverside Church – and this was done after prior consultation with the minister, Ernest Campbell, and in a reasonably decorous fashion. Forman sat in the front row with eight companions. He rose, sought to speak. Thus interrupted, Campbell, his ministerial colleagues and about two-thirds of the 2,000-member congregation, departed. Forman had his say, left; Cambell returned, spoke favorably of the concept of reparation while suggesting (along with many church leaders) that the word restitution would be more appropriate. The next day Riverside presented Forman with a restraining order precluding further disruptions; Forman burned the document while attaching his demands to the door of the offices of the Lutheran Church in America. Since early May, Forman has not needed to use confrontation to achieve a hearing. The concept of reparation has found favor among theologians such as Harvard's Harvey Cox. Forman has been politely received in major assemblies of several Protestant denominations. And in mid-May, an international consultation on racism sponsored by the World Council of Churches issued a statement from London saying: "We urge religious institutions to divest themselves of their excessive material wealth by immediately allocating a significant portion of their total resources, without employing any mechanism of control, to organizations of the racially oppressed." (Though the World Council has never paid reparations, it has channeled funds to various liberation groups in Africa.)

Is there any chance American churches will give substantial sums to militant blacks? Soon after Forman began his crusade, Union Theological Seminary students demanded, and won, $1.5 million from their board of directors to be used for Harlem projects and other programs to be designated by black students, faculty and alumni. The United Presbyterians has voted to consider establishing a $50 million poor people's fund – the money going to the poor, not to Forman. Generally speaking, churches which have expressed some contrition in the face of Forman's demands have also shown no interest in channeling money into Forman's organization. They prefer integrated or white-controlled enterprises.

Could the religious groups afford the $500 million Forman wants? Yes, but not without major changes. Churches have massive sums tied up in missionary efforts at home and abroad, which are regarded by many as paternalistic or obsolete. The administration of mission endowments could be turned over to new boards of directors sympathetic to radical cultural and social change at home. The assets are there; the real wealth of American churches runs into tens of billions of dollars in property, deposits and investment portfolios. Religious organizations take in $6.5 billion a year in members' contributions. Some church bodies have expressed a willingness to pay taxes on their business income; others already make contributions to local municipalities in lieu of taxes. Since liberal church groups have made statements supporting ghetto renewal and opposing current military-industrial allocation of tax moneys, one might argue that reparation or restitution would abet the decentralized community control that federal and local governments are reluctant to sponsor. In Boston recently, black clergy led a demand for $100 million, to be spent for local renewal. Much of this sum was to come from the well-to-do Christian Scientists.

The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York has flatly rejected the Forman Manifesto. The Episcopal Church said it would try to do more to improve its own programs. The integrated Board of Directors of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, which called the Conference which Forman took over, barred participation of IFCO staff on Forman's steering committee. Actually IFCO, as a joint Jewish-Protestant-Catholic agency committed to the ecumenical funding of indigenous, mass-based community organizations, stands to emerge as the fundamental broker between the churches and Forman and, indeed, all other militant blacks who seek sustenance from religious groups. IFCO has already passed on some $1.5 million from church groups to local organizations, and its procedure – copious reports and financial statements are required from IFCO recipients on a quarterly basis – is responsible enough to appeal to church liberals who are seeking to redress racial grievances.

Forman has lines into churches through various black caucuses that have sprung up in white denominations, and through the younger clergy of the black churches. But the fact remains that church campaigns for social action programs are not meeting quotas. To get $500 million there would have to be an actual transfer of existing assets such as stock portfolios and real estate.

There is a good deal of desperation among younger churchmen of all colors. They find the church irrelevant but see few opportunities to effect social change through any other institutions. They may find the term "reparation" repugnant, but not self-determination for blacks. That just might give Forman's crusade the momentum it needs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Stanley Kauffmann on films

## Che!
Twentieth Century-Fox

## Once Upon a Time in the West
Paramount

Just before he presented *Wilson* in 1944, Darryl F. Zanuck promised, as I recall, that if this high-toned picture didn't succeed, he would devote the rest of his life to Betty Grable flicks or their equivalents. *Wilson* failed, and now Zanuck has broken his promise. His company has presented *Che!*

The film is so bleached, so thoroughly castrated, there isn't much fun in mocking it. A lot of the surface facts seem accurate enough, but they have been so carefully chosen by funambulist minds that the picture never gets off a very dead center. Another way of saying this is that they included a good deal of action, all they left out is the politics. Not since Walter Wanger's *Blockade* (1938), which was about the Spanish Civil War, has a Hollywood film walked so bravely up to an explosive subject and kept on walking right past it. In the theater where I saw *Che!* there were a number of special armed guards, evidently in anticipation of protest. The only fitting protest is against the picture's vapidity.

Omar Sharif, equipped with caramel eyes, is Che. Jack Palance, equipped with less, is Fidel. Sample line: Che says to a faltering follower in Bolivia, "You reek of disenchantment." A dangerous verb for this script to employ.

Jeffery Shero wrote in *Rat* a few weeks ago:

> "Twentieth Century-Fox's sense of the box office hasn't diminished . . . Kids used to dream of being baseball stars or FBI agents; now they grow their hair long and want to be rock stars or revolutionaries. This new trend doesn't worry corporate film-makers. As long as the subject can be glamorized, the reality transformed into 'Hollywood,' film producers are happy."

I think Shero may be both right and wrong. The producers' motive is absolutely cynical exploitation, but Fox may have miscalculated, just as Paramount seems to have miscalculated with *Up Tight*, its film about black militancy. It's easy to seduce rah-rah patriots with *The Green Berets*, but much less easy to seduce the audience for radical pictures. What young people, radical or simply rebellious, seem to want in pictures is a chance for identification on an acceptable basis, which includes acceptable execution.

Take, for instance, Lindsay Anderson's *If . . .* As noted here earlier (Feb. 15, 1969), it's an excellently made film that stubbornly goes erratic. The closely observed injustices and cruelties of an English public school give way to fantasies of youthful murder and freedom that are unprepared and uncontained. Young audiences apparently are ignoring the erratic structure to revel in the fantasy because, whatever his shortcomings, Anderson has fine skills and genuine fire. His very excesses may prove more appealing to the audience that Fox wants than this carefully spooned-out emulsion of Guevara's life. For decades, commercial producers have scanned the horizon for topical subjects they could milk, and the subjects have often yielded bucks. But the general area of youthful revolt may prove less manipulable. True, a concoction like *Wild in the Streets* has some success, but *If . . .* evokes genuine hot response with its own genuine heat. The producers of *Che!* and of *Up Tight* thought they could milk the new young audience with, essentially, the old reliable milking methods. We'll see.

The Hollywood Western, as a genre, is a realm of fantasy. *Once Upon a Time in the West* is, in its pseudo-realistic way a fantasy superimposed on that general fantasy.

Sergio Leone is the best-known of the European makers of Westerns that we've been getting lately, mostly from Italy. I haven't seen his previous films, but veteran Leonists tell me that this new one is like them, only very much more so. On the basis of past success, he has been empowered to make a big expensive picture, and he has used that power to revel in his memory and daydreams, which are evidently drenched with American Westerns. When Orson Welles first arrived in Hollywood and was shown around the RKO studios where he was to have carte blanche, he said, "This is the best set of electric trains that any boy ever had." I can hear Leone saying, when he got the green light on this film, "You mean there really *is* a Henry Fonda, and a Lionel Stander and a Keenan Wynn and a Jason Robards, and I can have them?"

There is something touching and maniacal about the two-and-three-quarter-hour result. Leone's adoration of all the standard props and decor – the horses, the saloons, the guns, the clenched jaws, the histrionic taciturnities – has a childlike wonder about it. I almost felt that I was sitting next to little Sergio, aged 10, watching him gape wide-eyed at his own film. But only a fanatic could have taken such a stale Western plot and lavished all this bated-breath, minutely detailed attention on it. His picture is fictitious from Moment One, reminiscent of hundreds of films and dozens of directors, but it is made with such fervor, such conviction of its importance, that in some crazy way it holds the interest. Well, for the first half or so, anyway. Then I felt myself grinning at Leone's persistent, cornily talented infatuation with the patently incredible.

The underlying cheerful insanity is that, although many of the actors are American and some of the exteriors were shot in Utah and Arizona, the picture is really Italian. Some of the leading actors are Italians who are dubbed into English. Gabriele Ferzetti, the architect of *L'Avventura*, camps away as a villainous crippled tycoon. Paolo Stoppa, of *Miracle in Milan*, is a livery driver with Chic Sale chin whiskers and accent. Claudia Cardinale, whose décolleté adds more hills to the Utah landscape, has been dubbed, too – which is a bit of a puzzle since she is supposed to be from New Orleans, the usual cop-out for a Western character with a foreign accent. Even Charles Bronson, the American who plays the Silent Stranger, can be called an Italian phenomenon: one more subsidiary American actor who became an Italian star.

That's not all. The whole huge panorama is seen through foreign eyes. No matter what time of day it's supposed to be in a scene – morning, noon, or dusk – the light is Mediterranean gold. Tonino Delli Colli, the cinema-

*(Continued on page 32)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# George Wickes: Durrell's Landscapes

## Spirit of Place
## by Lawrence Durrell

(Dutton; $10.00)

Lawrence Durrell's *Spirit of Place* contains much more than the "Letters and Essays on Travel" announced in its subtitle. Under the broad rubric of "travel," editor Alan Thomas has assembled a miscellany of memoirs, excerpts from novels, poetry, and experiments in prose, as well as personal letters and travel literature, strictly speaking. This generous anthology thus provides a cross section of Durrell's work ranging from his early years to his most recent, bringing together uncollected writings that originally appeared in obscure little magazines or limited editions along with pieces commissioned by periodicals with mass circulation.

Early and late, Durrell has always shown a gift for evocation of place, a genius responsive to the *genius loci*. His best works – his three books on Greek islands and his *Alexandria Quartet* – are hauntingly evocative of landscape and seascape, legend and local color. He belongs with Norman Douglas, D. H. Lawrence, and E. M. Forster to the tradition of Englishmen thawed by the Mediterranean sun and charmed by the flora and fauna, especially the uninhibited inhabitants. In his early twenties Durrell decided to escape "the English death" by moving to a Greek island. He has remained in the Mediterranean world ever since, living all around its borders and writing about all the places where he has lived.

*Spirit of Place* is organized geographically, charting Durrell's voyage from his boyhood in India and youth in England, abundantly surveying his mature years in Greece and France, and wittily concluding with a journey down the Styx. This is one way of mapping the territory, and I suppose Alan Thomas as a bookseller is in the habit of arranging his wares spatially. But in the process he mixes writings from the thirties and sixties indiscriminately, and this to the literary historian is reprehensible. I can best explain what I find in the book by using chronology as the organizing principle, following the writer's career as he grows from apprentice to old hand. The material then falls naturally into three parts: letters (where they now appear), early experiments, and recent writings. Every man his own anthologist, but let us be grateful to the bookseller for giving us three volumes for the price of one.

The selection of Durrell's letters, written to friends over a period of thirty-odd years, makes the best possible introduction, presenting first impressions of all the landscapes that have appeared in his work and some that have not. The letters also provide a running biography, unobtrusively reinforced by Thomas' occasional notes and personal anecdotes. Durrell is an incurable fictionalizer, so all previous attempts at biography have been colored by his vivid imagination. Thomas is as accurate as Durrell is not, and the two have been friends since 1934, so the record is both reliable and remarkably complete.

The letters are full of raw materials – drafts of poems and purple passages – later to be metamorphosed into finished works. There are some surprises here: an enthusiastic outpouring about Stratford-on-Avon as against the three letters from Egypt which convey little except disgust:

> "The thin exhausted lusts of the Alexandrians running out like sawdust out of dummies; the shrill ululations of the black women, the rending of hair and clothes in mourning – a skilled occupation – outside the whitewashed hospital. The tarbush, the dark suit, the rings, the French accent; the scrofula, the pox, the riches, the food. Even in your Italian brothel I cannot think how to write or speak to you from this flesh-pot, sink-pot, melting-pot of dullness."

The fact is that Durrell loathed Alexandria while he was there, ruminated about it for 12 years before writing the *Quartet*, and entirely transformed it into an imaginary realm.

After the letters the best evidence of Durrell's evolution as a writer appears in his juvenilia – not so much the excerpts from his early novels as the experimental works he wrote during 1936-37. Two madhouse monologues, "Zero" and "Asylum in the Snow," are heavy going but must be understood as surrealistic exercises by a young writer drunk with words ("amusia, aphasia, aboulia, alexia, agraphia, and anoia") and under the influence of Henry Miller's jabberwocky:

> "I content myself in drafting out the invitations to the garden-party, to be held at the fool moon, among parasols and inanities. I shall appear among them disguised as a bishop. It will be ironic – among these starched churchmen who faint away if they catch a glimpse of a real man of God. I shall offer a first prize for the mind which is most orderly in its arrangement: the mind that most resembles a vegetable garden. The tea-cups will be brimming with polarized light, the parasols hectic with dinosaurs."

More readable and far more entertaining is "Down the Styx," written in the form of a letter to Durrell's Victorian Aunt Prudence (whom the index lists as Hughes, Prudence), preparing her for a trip through the underworld that is at the same time a fetal journey to birth. These writings all date from the same period as the *Black Book*, which Durrell has always regarded as the work in which he found his true voice.

Durrell's middle years are scantily represented, the years he spent in government service turning out prose that was more functional than decorative and on the side writing his island

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**"One of the liveliest and most balanced descriptions of contemporary Cuba I have ever read."**
—LEE LOCKWOOD, author of *Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel*

What is it really like to live a revolution . . . to attempt to unlearn old ideas about work, property, sex, race, divisions of city and country? Here is a book that greatly adds to our understanding of the human side of Castro's Cuba — and thus fills a serious information gap. To prepare this vivid, firsthand report, Elizabeth Sutherland spent a summer traveling through Cuba and interviewing a broad range of people, including workers, students, intellectuals and officials. Her stay ended with two weeks on the Isle of Pines — which few Americans have visited — where she lived and worked in an agricultural camp for young women and saw the Revolution in perhaps its purest form.

"Authentic, honest reporting."
*—Publishers' Weekly*

**THE Youngest Revolution**

**By ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND**
With photos by LEROY LUCAS
$5.95, now at your bookstore
**THE DIAL PRESS**

books – *Prospero's Cell, Reflections on a Marine Venus,* and *Bitter Lemons* – each looking back nostalgically at an island he had left behind. Since these books are all in print, there is no reason to include them in *Spirit of Place.*

With the stunning success of *The Alexandria Quartet* Durrell found a sudden demand for his work. During the last ten years or so he has written a number of travel articles for *Holiday* and other slick publications. These are sometimes dismissed as mere hackwork, but they show the novelist's touch and the landscapist's eye, as Durrell invents a good story while deftly filling in the background with the required travel information. And of course he continues to write about the Mediterranean world he loves, Greece and the southern provinces of France, where he now lives.

These recent writings should be prefaced by Durrell's essay "Landscape and Character," expounding his views on how climate affects culture. True to his theory, he populates his landscapes with characters who personify their culture and who usually serve as guides to the region: Pepe with a map of Provence tattooed on his chest, Raoul the clumsy plumber who goes courting in Avignon and finds his Laura through a newspaper advertisement, Monsieur Prosper the traveling salesman with a remedy for ailing goose livers who eats so well on the road that he suffers from a liver complaint himself. Needless to say, all these characters are Gargantuan eaters, drinkers, and talkers, and in fulfilling his assignments the author must join in their pleasures. He does so with gusto and humor, proving his theory once again. Under the influence of the Provençal landscape the young English poet of 30 years ago has grown into an unbuttoned Rabelaisian character.

## *Brantome*

J'ai eu pitié des autres
Pas assez.
*The Pisan Cantos.*

Burly, provincial France,
Your rarefied, severe
Renaissance is
Material and four-square
Here, in a stout arrangement
Of water, stone and grass
Where the unlettered can
Come and read in the clear
Air of weeping April
Thus rendered, the austere
Theorems of the jurist
Or fierce geometer.

I walk your foreign turf.
My native tongue was leased
Fawningly, long ago,
To the too long appeased
Long pitied vulgar. I
Speak to myself in French,
Thinking myself in a place
Where a lettered man's remorse
For intellectual pride
And ruthlessness of the mind
May be accepted, not
Pounced on and misapplied.

DONALD DAVIE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Edward T. Chase: The Super-Futurist

## The Age of Discontinuity Guidelines to Our Changing Society by Peter F. Drucker

(Harper & Row; $7.95)

"Futurism," the systematic endeavor to anticipate developments and thereby to control our destiny, particularly the effects of technological change, has become a new industry in the past four years. Universities, foundations, associations, government departments and now even Congress increasingly are sponsoring futurist activities. This is exciting, for the origin of the movement is the discovery that history's unexpected consequences may be devastating; or that, conversely, innovation to be constructive requires utmost sophistication in its planning. This is so because of technology's incalculable forces and their instant pervasiveness. A new development, whether a heart transplant technique or nuclear pollution, affects the whole world population overnight.

There is another, even more powerful impetus for futurism: the mounting realization of the inequities and social costs inherent in a price market economy fueled by strictly competitive interests and with goals unrelated to the public good. An even bigger gross national product is observed to go hand in hand with ever bigger black slums and deteriorated services.

Futurism takes different forms. Several months ago the White House issued a historic but unheralded document, "Toward a Social Report." Initiated by John W. Gardner in 1966 it is the first attempt to establish an annual accounting of the nation's *social* condition comparable to the Council of Economic Advisors' *economic* report. The report measures our well-being and the effects of technological fallout in terms of noneconomic indicators. The Russell Sage Foundation is sponsoring research on social indicators, "alternative futures for industrial countries," as well as a project entitled *The Study of the Future: Exploration In the Sociology of Knowledge.* The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has an investigative Committee On the Year 2000. Its chairman, Daniel Bell, was a key author of the celebrated "futurist" report by the National Commission On Technology, Automation and Economic Progress. In the Senate, Walter Mondale has pushed for a "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act" to compel the national government to heed the social as well as economic costs of proposed legislation. And in the House, Emilio Daddario has pressed for a national panel of experts to weigh technology's future impact. Abroad, Bertrand de Jouvenel heads the "Futuribles" group. Books proliferate – Herman Kahn and the Hudson Institute have produced *The Year 2000* study; the Foreign Policy Association has produced its own study, *Toward The Year 2018;* and Bertram Gross, in editing the recent collection of essays entitled *A Great Society* provided a cross section of the best current thinking about future social planning.

Futurism is generally traced back to the postwar defense effort, specifically the Rand Corporation's work for the Air Force in development studies for future military aircraft. Defense Department techniques of using systems analysis to weigh the costs and benefits of alternative programs became perfected and widely publicized under Secretary McNamara and Charles Hitch, author of *Decision Making For Defense.*

Against this background, Peter Drucker's career would seem to qualify him as a super-futurist. Some of us can still recall the excitement generated by his first book, *The End of Economic Man,* in 1939, one of the first, brilliant studies of Nazi totalitarianism. In the midst of World War II, Drucker was already speculating on the nature of the postwar economic

☐ **Student Revolution** by Diana Trilling
☐ **Poverty Problems** by Daniel P. Moynihan
☐ **Black Power** by Bayard Rustin
☐ **The Electoral System** by Alexander Bickel
☐ **Negros & Jews** by Earl Raab

Take one-or two-or all five free with your new or renewed subscription to Commentary.

**COMMENTARY MAGAZINE** NR-12
For an understanding of our times —
165 E. 56th St., New York, N.Y. 10022

Please send me the Commentary Reports I've indicated above and enter my subscription for:
___ 7 months—$5.50 (single copy price $7)
___ 12 months—$9.00 (single copy price $12)
___ 36 months—$23.00 (single copy price $36)
☐ Please send bill
☐ Payment enclosed (receive 2 additional issues)

Name_____
Address_____
City_____State_____Zip_____
New ☐ Renew ☐
(when current subscription ends)
Please use separate sheet for gift subscriptions.
Outside U.S.A. — add $1.50 per subscription.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Stanford Books on Communist China

## The Chinese Communist Movement

A REPORT OF THE U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT, JULY 1945. **Edited by Lyman P. Van Slyke.** "[A] convenient, reasonably comprehensive, and remarkably objective report . . . originally classified secret."—The New York Times Book Review. Paper, $2.95; cloth, $7.50

## The China White Paper, August 1949

**With a New Introduction by Lyman P. Van Slyke.** Reissue of the original State Department publication, with an extensive index prepared for this edition. "In our lifetime I doubt we shall again get this much of a grasp of the China scene."—John K. Fairbank. Paper, 2 vols., $5.95; cloth, 1 vol., $15.00

## Soviet Policies in China, 1917–1924

**Allen S. Whiting.** "A solid and definitive piece of historical research."—The Far Eastern Quarterly. "The story is told with remarkable thoroughness and untypical brevity in Mr. Whiting's excellent book."—International Affairs. Paper, $2.95; cloth, $8.50

## Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927

A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY. **Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Robert C. North.** "The selections of the documents are skillfully made, the translations are excellent, and the introductory statements provide clear expositions of backgrounds and settings."—The Russian Review. $12.50

## The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919–1927

**Jean Chesneaux. Translated by H. M. Wright.** Chinese industrial and labor history in a crucial period. "This book will remain a milestone in the Western studies of social history in modern China."—The Oriental Economist. $15.00

## Moscow and Chinese Communists

SECOND EDITION. **Robert C. North.** "The best short history of Chinese Communism yet published."—Edgar Snow, The Nation. "Scholarship of the first order."—The New York Times Book Review. Paper, $2.95; cloth, $7.50

## The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution

SECOND REVISED EDITION. **Harold R. Isaacs.** "As indispensable now as when first published in 1938."—The Times Literary Supplement. "One of the classics among the works on the Communist movement in China."—The China Quarterly. $8.50

## Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927–1935

**John E. Rue.** "A well-written and stimulating interpretation which will have to be taken into account by all future researchers in this field."—The China Quarterly. "Extraordinarily interesting."—The New York Times. $10.00

## Student Nationalism in China, 1927–1937

**John Israel.** "Captures much of the excitement of the decade and conveys the compelling interest and importance of the Chinese student movements. . . . A valuable case study."—Problems of Communism. $7.50

## Enemies and Friends

THE UNITED FRONT IN CHINESE COMMUNIST HISTORY. **Lyman P. Van Slyke.** "So very well done that it puts us within range of trying to distinguish the peculiar Chinese way in politics."—John K. Fairbank, The American Historical Review. $8.50

## Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power

THE EMERGENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY CHINA, 1937–1945. **Chalmers A. Johnson.** "Will remain one of the standard works on the rise of Communism in China."—The American Political Science Review. Paper, $2.95; cloth, $6.50

## China Crosses the Yalu

THE DECISION TO ENTER THE KOREAN WAR. **Allen S. Whiting.** A reissue. "This is a brilliant piece of reconstruction."—C. Martin Wilbur, The New York Times Book Review. Paper, $2.45; cloth, $6.75

**AT YOUR BOOKSTORE**

# Stanford University Press


order, with his book *The Future of Industrial Man*. (Then as now he was particularly anxious about the deepening gulf between the world's rich and its poor.) This was followed by his works on business management. But the bent of his interest in the history of technology and its social impact was consistently futurist, and from this came his books, *The New Society, America's Next Twenty Years* and *Landmarks of Tomorrow*. His new book, though it often repeats their themes, rather dwarfs these earlier volumes in its bold comprehensiveness.

Let us consider Drucker's major points. Extrapolation of trends won't work. Why? Because the *new* technologies derive from revolutionary findings in quantum and radiation physics, physical chemistry, symbolic logic and the behavioral sciences, and the interconnections of the new technologies are too profound and complex to foresee their effects. The typically great new economies are the service industries and above all the *knowledge* industries. Computerized information processing is certain to reshape the world economic order. Drucker is entirely convincing with his demonstration that "knowledge has become the central economics resource." He writes: "without the computer we would not have understood that information, like electricity, is a form of energy. Electricity is the cheapest, most plentiful, and most versatile energy for mechanical work. This is indeed the first era when energy for mind work has been available." Developed countries like the US, he says, can only maintain their present health if they exploit these new technologies.

Drucker stresses the stability of the past half century's economic order, based on steel, the combustion engine, etc., now all becoming moribund. He illustrates the new type industries with provocative descriptions of oceanography, materials (including plastics), data processing and urbanology. We must think, he says, not in terms of old-fashioned international trade but of the world as a single shopping center. The multi-national corporation, Servan-Schreiber's obsession, is the tool to exploit this. What's more, the poor must be made productive or world revolution, largely colored versus white, is probable. The new institutions for this new world would best be nongovernmental, designed to perform specific social tasks. Drucker wants to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# DO SAVINGS OF 25-80% SOUND ENTERTAINING?

**ENTERTAINMENT DIMENSIONS is a single convenient shop at home service for all your record, tape, book and stereo equipment needs.**

We offer all of the services of a retail store, at less than discount store prices, with the greatest selection and flexibility available. As a **LIFETIME** member of **ENTERTAINMENT DIMENSIONS** you will receive a **FREE SCHWANN** record catalog listing over 30,000 selections, all of which are available, at all times, for at least 35% off on every U.S. or foreign label. Upon request a **FREE HARRISON 4** or **8** track catalog of pre-recorded tapes will also be sent to you with savings of 25-33% on all tapes. All albums and tapes are guaranteed to be new.

**LIFETIME** membership fee is only $5.00, which includes your choice of one of the **FREE** records below plus valuable **FREE** catalogs and special monthly offers. And join is all you will ever have to do, absolutely no purchase obligations, no stop order forms, nothing will ever be sent until you send in an order.

| L.P.'s LIST | CLUB PRICE |
|---|---|
| $3.98 | $2.49 |
| 4.98 | 3.09 |
| 5.98 | 3.79 |
| **4 TR LIST** | **CLUB PRICE** |
| $6.95 | $4.65 |
| 7.95 | 5.35 |
| **8 TR LIST** | **CLUB PRICE** |
| $5.98 | $4.48 |
| 6.98 | 5.28 |

One of the most valuable features of membership is the speed and care your orders receive. All orders are processed and shipped within 24 hours – never any delays.

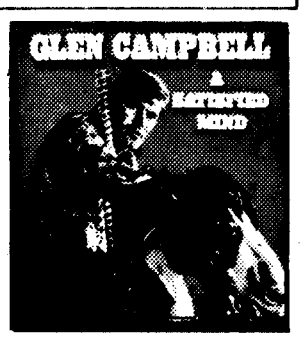
Save even more by taking advantage of these fantastic specials – **GARRARD SL 75** turntable, regularly **$109.50** now only **$71.00**, **SAVE $38.50!** All **A&M $4.98** list records for only **$2.50** each, including such artists as **Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass, Sergio Mendes and Brasil 66, The Procol Harum, Phil Ochs, Baja Marimba Band and Claudine Longet**.

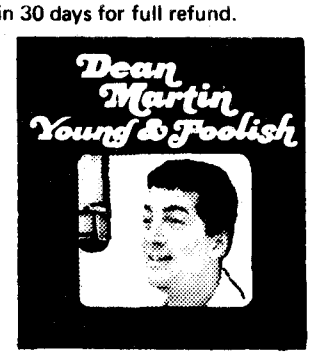
Our book division will double your benefits by offering you **EVERY BOOK IN PRINT** hard or soft cover original publishers editions at **25% off list price**. Never book club editions. Text and technical books at **10% discount**.

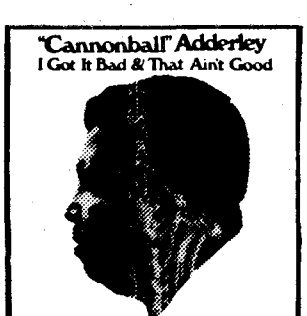
**ENTERTAINMENT DIMENSIONS** features nearly every manufacturer of stereo compenents at **25-50%** discounts from compacts to components featuring **A.R., SCOTT, FISHER, SHURE, DUAL** to name just a few.

**Gift memberships** are available with full lifetime privileges for only **$2.50 each**. Three can enroll for just **$10.00** and five for only **$15.00**. Just fill out the gift membership on the coupon below.

You must be fully delighted with **ENTERTAINMENT DIMENSIONS** or notify us within 30 days for full refund.





**ENTERTAINMENT DIMENSIONS, INC.**
**264 W. 40th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10018** DEPT. NR 6249

$5.00 enclosed entitles me to: Free Record No._____, Free Catalog, Order Form plus Special Monthly Discount Offers. No further obligations, and Savings of 25—80%.

INCLUDE FREE TAPE CATALOG
☐ of 4 track tapes
☐ of 8 track tapes

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

**GIFT MEMBERSHIPS**

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

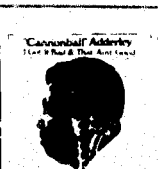
NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

No. 100

No. 101

No. 102

No. 103



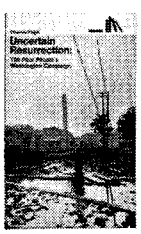
No. 104

No. 105

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It would be a boon to the country if congress were to make it illegal for any representative or senator not to read Fager's book from tragic beginning to bitter end."

—Robert Cromie, Chicago Tribune



**UNCERTAIN RESURRECTION:**
**The Poor People's Washington Campaign,** ***Charles Fager.*** This in-depth, eye-witness report probes for reasons and understanding why the dismal failure. Paper $2.45

**BLACK REFLECTIONS ON WHITE POWER** ***Sterling Tucker.*** A terrifying view of the white man's system by the Director of Field Services for the National Urban League. Cloth $3.95 *". . . a clear statement of a very important — and growing — position which stands between the traditional civil rights movement of a few years ago and a violent revolutionary stance . . . realistic and reasonable."* — **Charles V. Hamilton, Prof. of Political Science, Roosevelt University**

**BLACK SELF-DETERMINATION:**
**The Story of the Woodlawn Organization** ***Arthur M. Brazier***
*"Brazier . . . is conspicuous for his realistic, sophisticated grasp of the politics of power. Leadership of his quality is one of the most encouraging notes of hope in what seems to be a bleak national scene."*—**Saul D. Alinsky**
Cloth $4.50

9-14

*At your bookseller's*

**WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.**
Grand Rapids, Michigan

"reprivatize" our institutional order. A concomitant of this development must be a transformation of our educational systems and our business incentives system: knowledge workers need challenges and intellectual satisfaction more than money.

His basic merit, and it is considerable, is his astonishing knowledge of the history of technology. He gives hundreds of fascinating examples of particular developments, from which he draws telling sociological lessons. Yet when Irving Kristol asserts that Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* and Harrington's *The Other America* are ephemeral pamphlets by comparison, the charge suggests the very deficiency that has depressed Drucker's reputation. For Drucker treats the market as a kind of eternal verity; he shows no awareness of its victims, no anger, no compassion. His book is valuable for its inspired *obiter dicta* and for a profusion of revealing historical illustrations of our evolving industrial civilization, not for giving us a coherent, humane analysis and prophecy.

# Documentary

## High School

Produced and Directed by Frederick Wiseman

Most students at Northeast High in Philadelphia are middle class, clean, respectful, and go on to college; many win scholarships. Few are black. Northeast is the sort of school parents and school officials want. Frederick Wiseman's remarkable documentary film, *High School,* is worth seeing. For it shows that our most serious educational problems aren't only in slum schools. What people think of as the good schools are failing their children, too.

Wiseman, whose earlier films include a study of the Kansas City police force and *Titicut Follies,* a harrowing sketch of a Massachusetts insane asylum, sets out to portray a reputable high school, not a blackboard jungle. *High School* suggests no remedies. In words alone, its message can be reduced to a string of cliches: the schools are authoritarian, repressive, and so on. On film – on this film, anyway – the cliches take on density and complexity, carrying us beyond slogans into artistic truth. Scene after scene builds to a powerful cumulative effect – not of anger, but of immense sadness and futility: this is how we live. *High School* is an essay on emptiness.

Though far from sympathetic, the camera eye is not cruel. The teachers seem decent and well-meaning. What they say doesn't matter much. What counts are the numbing lessons the whole institution is teaching its students about themselves and life. A school official prowls the halls, constantly checking on students to see if they have passes, harassing them as they try to talk on the telephone. Here, as in other disciplinary matters, the rule is made explicit: "Don't you talk. You just listen." In an extraordinary scene, a burly dean of discipline badgers a boy who thinks his teacher is punishing him unfairly and is resisting on principle: "When you are being addressed by someone older than you or in a seat of authority, it's your job to respect and listen. She didn't ask you to jump from the Empire State Building . . . What you should have done is showed some character . . . We are out to establish that you can be a man and that you can take orders."

The sociologist Edward Shils has said that the important cultural battle in our time is between the new sense of individuality and personal expressiveness that flows from our wide experience of affluence, and the more traditional sense that life is lived in scarcity. Partly, this is a class issue. I'm not sure that the children of plentitude always understand the limits of human possibilities, especially institutional possibilities. But one doesn't have to be a proponent of total liberation to see that Northeast High is preaching an ugly and pinched doctrine, based on a world of total scarcity, to students, who are,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

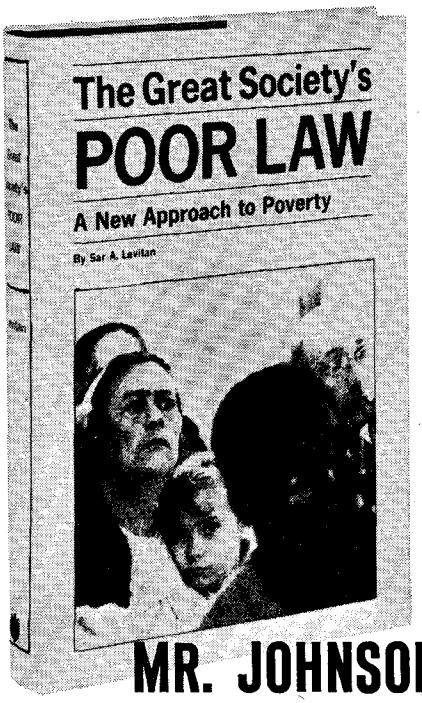
after all, relatively affluent. Its teachers repeatedly present a view of life that can only be called hungry. Thus, a sex education lecturer in the film says:

> "You have had practice in controlling your impulses and feelings ever since you have been a baby. By the time you get to be a high school senior, you don't eat all the chocolate cake you want to because you don't want to get fat. You do your homework whether you want to or not. You take your college boards even if you don't feel like it that day . . . you don't steal clothes. . . . You have learned by now that it's part of being human, that you can't have what you want when you want it."

All hopes and dreams are dented, those of parents as well as students. I felt tugged in different directions watching an interview between some parents and a counsellor. The regal father is ambitious for his daughter, perhaps too ambitious. A teacher had called some of her essays "fabulous," then flunked her. The sententious counsellor explains it all to the father, whose eyes glitter with frustration: "The total mark involves more than just these papers. . . . We can only judge on the basis of performance. You may have hidden talent . . . but if you don't perform we don't know." "True, true," the defeated man whispers. The counsellor spins out some pop psychology and asks the daughter if she feels guilty for letting her father down. "You cannot impose preconceived values and dreams on an individual," he tells the father. This is true and a school can help protect kids from pushy parents, but why one wonders, is the message at Northeast so insistent, and why is there so much bitter joy in the work of denial? At least the father imagines possibilities for the girl: the school is quick to snuff out visions. In another scene, I had the same torn feelings about the school's protection of students. A college counsellor tells a girl she can apply to all her dream colleges, but that she should have a college of last resort, "if none of your dreams came true." Again, sensible advice. But in Northeast, this begins to sound suspicious. Too many people are insisting on defeat. "You can't undo the past," a counsellor says. "Even if somebody has made a mistake and been wrong and unfair, you can't undo the past." In its setting, this bit of wisdom rings tinny. Sometimes parents collaborate with the school in teaching this kind of lesson, as when a mother tries to get the school to assert an authority she has clearly lost over her defiant daughter.

The school asks little from the students, as teachers keep saying. Order is the main thing, and most students seem to find it easy to pay homage to order. In a few scenes students are openly insulted. A girl has it explained to her how wearing a short dress to the prom is an insult to the school. She must learn to abide by the standards of the majority. (The majority is constantly invoked.) "I think it's nice to be individualistic, but there are certain places to be individualistic," the teacher says. Under pressure, near tears, the girl recants: "I didn't mean to be individualistic."

Promiscuity cannot be tolerated, of course. You expect that in a high school. What you may not expect is the constant attack on students' sexuality. "This young lady, she's got a leg problem, too," a teacher says to a group of girls modeling a fashion show. Another shot of the same teacher show her counting off girls' calis-


★ Community Action Programs
★ Head Start
★ VISTA
★ The Job Corps
★ Upward Bound
★ Community Health Services
★ Legal Services
★ Loan Programs
★ Birth Control
★ The Rural Poor
★ Indian-Americans
★ Migrant Workers

**MR. JOHNSON'S OTHER WAR— HOW SHOULD MR. NIXON FIGHT IT?**

*In THE GREAT SOCIETY'S POOR LAW, Sar A. Levitan, one of the nation's top manpower advisers, gives the full, authoritative account of the War on Poverty — and what must be done if the poor are not always to be with us.* *$7.95 at your bookstore.*

"THE GREAT SOCIETY'S POOR LAW is by far the best evaluation of the War on Poverty that I have read. It is not only comprehensive, but authoritative, objective, and sensitive. . . . I am urging my colleagues in Congress, on both sides of the aisle, to read it." — ***Rep. Albert H. Quie, House Education and Labor Committee***

"Dr. Levitan's review of the poverty programs adds historical perspective to a dialogue which has too often focused only upon the latest skirmish. As such, it is 'must' reading for all who are interested in a comprehensive overview of the war on poverty." — ***Sen. Jacob Javits***

"This book cuts through the banal superficialities of the poverty debate. It is sympathetic, yet critical. Such clear and concise analysis is just what Congress has been waiting for. The Ford Foundation is to be congratulated for funding this excellent study." — ***Sen. Charles E. Goodell***

"THE GREAT SOCIETY'S POOR LAW merits the serious study of all those who are concerned with programs to help the nation's poor. . . . A valuable contribution towards understanding the antipoverty program and its problems." — ***Sen. Edmund S. Muskie***

**THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS** Baltimore, Maryland 21218


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thenics: "Oh boy, are we feminine." The boys' sex lecture is one of the most vulgar, and perhaps in the right sense of the word, dirty, performances I've seen. If this is sex education, perhaps the schools shouldn't have it.

Northeast teaches the standard subjects; you might as well be in a wax museum. The world occasionally intrudes: boys spend 193 hours in simulated space flight – a pointless enterprise, and they seem to take it in the right aimless spirit. A teacher discusses the history of labor relations: in the early days there was too little communication between capital and labor. A social studies teacher talks about *The Other America*, and levels of poverty in America, and asks the class how many would join a club that had Negro members – "there's no right or wrong answer, I'm just trying to determine attitudes." There is an inane music class, and we see majorettes. In one incredible scene, an English teacher reads "Casey at the Bat" out loud to stupified students.

When you do see good teaching, you wonder if the students know the difference. The language classes are lively, for example, but the students' faces aren't. A teacher plays a Simon and Garfunkel record to a poetry class. She lays down a smokescreen from the academy – "image, setting, figurative language, thematic words" – but she is really trying, and the music is lovely. ("Dangling Conversation.") The timing of this scene is extraordinary: by now, you're feeling so bleak inside, the music comes as a balm. The camera lingers questioningly on the faces of the kids, but the faces are mysterious, and you have no way of fathoming what they make of this – some decent teaching about something interesting, for a change. Deliberately, Frederick Wiseman confines himself all through the film to what the school elicits from the students. We have no way of knowing what they feel about the school. It is entirely possible that they are as complacent about it as the staff, even though it obviously bores them. Maybe, after all, they learned the main lesson: don't expect much. Perhaps the students' passivity is a necessary defense: school can be survived, the way draftees endure the army. You have to keep reminding yourself that it isn't fair to ask for rebels or heroes: these are just kids trying to make sense of the world they're given, to fit in. In a way they're too busy growing up to notice how bad the school is. After school or years later, when they're adults, life might be very different. You don't know.

There is a handful of exceptions, troublemakers with long hair, shades, and even some beads. Like other schools, Northeast handles this group by forming them into a "human relations" society. A teacher presides, trying to get them to take a more balanced view of the school. At last some student voices: "I think in its attitude toward education, its relations with the world today, this school is miserable. It's cloistered, it's secluded, it's completely sheltered from everything that's going on in the world." A conservatively dressed in black student concedes that the science program in the school is good, but "morally, socially, this school is a garbage can."

*High School* should be seen for its own extraordinary merits. But it will surely become a weapon in the war of styles of life and classes now dividing America. Many will insist that the reason Northeast is such a mournful place is that it institutionalizes the attitudes of a repressed lower-middle class. There is room for this view. But it's incomplete. In a grim scene, a teacher reads a letter from a soldier in Vietnam about to go on a dangerous mission. If he gets killed, he'll leave his insurance money to the school. He doesn't matter, he's "only a body." Northeast has probably had something to do with convincing him that he's only a body, but it has also given him loyalties: he loves the school. The fact that his loyalties have been perverted into serving in a monstrous war doesn't make his letter any less moving. One of the great obstacles to social change is the contempt the emancipated middle class and its children feel for the straight middle- and lower-middle class. The feeling is mutual. But it is particularly exasperating to see radicals and reformers diverted from an attack on institutions to an attack on the people trapped in them. Baiting teachers and the police, denying that they are people, too, is becoming common, a senseless as well as a morally ugly response to what's wrong with society. By and large the teachers at Northeast seem personally less repressive, kinder, and even more sexy than the total institution they serve (although they are sentimental about the real functions of the school). This is what has to be explained.

Northeast is no worse than other schools in this country. It is probably better – at least its graduates are ready for college. Its main defect is that it isn't a school at all, in the sense of being a place where people learn important things about the world: it teaches students that they are just bodies, going through the motions of getting through. The teachers are constantly appealing for denial and restraint, but they are increasingly unable to explain the purpose of all this sacrifice. The old appeals to uplift and purpose aren't working. The kids sit, glassy-eyed. Nothing seems to reach them. No single reform, no one revolution will change this. A condition of the spirit is hard to cure.

JOSEPH FEATHERSTONE

(High School *in 16mm or 35mm can be rented from OSTI, 264 Third Street, Cambridge, Mass.*)

"ALONG COMES *a federal official who authorizes the exclusion of white students, from all-black arrangements at Antioch on the following grounds, all ye sophists take note. You see, says HEW, white people aren't being excluded because they're white — that indeed would be unconstitutional — but because they do not have the relevant background, namely blackness.*"

For a free copy of Wm. F. Buckley's NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. K, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

ATTACH LABEL HERE

CHANGING ADDRESS?
*Send back old and new addresses to*

Subscription Department
The New Republic
381 West Center St., Marion, Ohio

*Allow four weeks*
*for change to become effective*

New Address

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....Zip .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Correspondence

## De Gaulle's Exit

*Sirs:*

It is simply inaccurate to claim ("Exit the King," May 10) that, should de Gaulle's successors receive the answers the General never got, *he* would go down in history as "a latter day Moses."

Rather than leading his people "toward the modern world of post-industrial society," as you claim, the General habitually showed a supreme disdain for economic and financial matters, his pronouncements on them tended toward the absurd, and for better or worse, their management was left to his lieutenants, who helped provoke the events of last May through excessively conservative economic policies and a systematic strangulation of the French university system.

Rather than leading France toward what you call "effective, pragmatic government," the General scarcely concerned himself with endowing the political institutions and processes he had himself sponsored in 1958 with any legitimacy. He continually ignored the advice of the institutions when they disagreed with his own predilections, and eventually took one step too far in capricious, inefficient personal government with his unconstitutional and intemperate referendum on the Senate and regions, and a majority of the voters had had enough.

Most important, it is quite untrue to claim for de Gaulle the preparation of a "balanced and independent European confederation, far more realistic and solid than the little Europe with federal institutions but unexamined purposes of Jean Monet's dream." It is probably the most unfortunate legacy of the Gaullist foreign policies, which had much merit, that his pretensions for independence and influence outside the hegemony of the United States were continually frustrated by his refusal to consider joining forces in this area, in any way, with his European partners. The Franco-German Treaty of Cooperation has remained moribund since the General consistently implemented a unilateral foreign policy without consulting the Germans. This was true even with such positive steps as the recognition of China. Rather than sponsoring a confederal Europe, de Gaulle was as responsible as any individual for the revival of nationalism in all of western Europe which is today frustrating efforts at common policies.

Moreover, your statement does a grave injustice to Jean Monnet (if you must misrepresent his role and ideas, you could at least spell his name correctly). Had your writer done more research on the history of post-war efforts for European unity, he would have discovered that, rather than being a "federalist" or a proponent of "little Europe," Monnet was the mastermind behind such functional plans as the Schuman Coal and Steel Plan, and a regular proponent of a larger European unity with considerable purpose, especially since the formation of his Action Committee in 1956. If he talks of federalism, it is not as an idealistic dreamer or writer of European constitutions, but as a practical man of affairs who has seen the need for European action and a European role in the world, and has sought the most effective roads to seek that goal.

*Gordon M. Adams*
*Columbia University*

### Notes on Contributors

GEORGE WICKES *was the editor of* Lawrence Durrell and Henry Miller: A Private Correspondence. EDWARD T. CHASE *is editor of New American Library and writes on public affairs. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the Society For the History of Technology and also of Columbia University's Seminar on Technology and Social Change.*

## College Board Essays

*Sirs:*

Your note, "College Boards" (May 24), came as a revelation to me. As a reader for the English Achievement Test in question and a half-dozen others over the past five years, I have been laboring under the impression that I and all the other readers I know loathe the tons of "teacher-oriented" tripe we get every reading. I see now, thanks to Serge Lang, that actually we like it very much and that we have been allowing our "linguistic and political

**This Week in HARD TIMES:**
**ARNOLD & PORTER — and FORTAS**
The secret world of Washington's "Fifth Estate." Big deals (tobacco, drugs, railroads, Texas politics) by Andrew Kopkind and James Ridgeway.
**LAW & POWER in WASHINGTON**
Start your subscription this week. Send $7.50 for a one year (48 issue) subscription to 80 Irving Place, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

**I REQUIRE . . .**
***a "dating service" that***
- ☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
- ☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
- ☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
- ☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
- ☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE

**MIND MATES**
**Bureau for Interpersonal Relations**
**1 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10017**
**MU 2-3757**

*If music be the food of love, ...play on.*
We nourish lovers 24 hours a day!
**WGAY**
**STEREO** 50,000 WATTS 24 HOURS 99.5 FM
**A CONNIE B. GAY STATION**
Serving Metropolitan Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

predilections" to be our guides.

Though I might quibble with Lang about the "political" side of the coin, I must agree as far as our "linguistic predilections" are concerned. We are regrettably partial to writers who use the language with grace, force, and precision; we have a sneaking admiration for well-turned paragraphs; worst of all, we like an essay that states a challenging thesis – or any thesis at all – pursues and supports it intelligently, and winds it up with éclat.

*Richard C. Vitzthum*
*Assistant Professor of English*
*University of Maryland*

## Ten Years in the House

*Sirs:*

Your Notes on Contributers (May 31), states that I "for ten weeks worked in the U.S. Senate." Just for the record, it was in the House of Representatives. And it was for ten *years*. And seemed like it.

*Larry L. King*

## Bradley's Defeat

*Sirs:*

Tom Bradley was not defeated by Sam Yorty. He owes his defeat, rather to the picture of black militants marching out of the occupied Student Union Building at Cornell carrying 17 rifles and shotguns, to the spectacle of a black militant blown up by his own bomb at San Francisco State, to the shutting down of the South Campus at City College, to the ubiquitous demand for preferential treatment and unconditional access to public money, to the demand for "reparations" from churches and synagogues. Most of all, Tom Bradley's failure is due to the deafening silence of the so-called responsible black leadership in the face of these and other outrageous deeds and words.

Given the silence, with few exceptions, of the black moderates, the electorate must and obviously has concluded, that they approve of these words and deeds. This alone, must assure their defeat when the appeal is to a mixed constituency in which the Negro is a minority.

*Abraham S. Haft, M.D.*
*Tuckahoe, N. Y.*

## Kauffmann, *from page 22*

tographer, has covered everything with melted parmigiana. Every setting, no matter how stark it is supposed to be, finds a way to be ornately stark. For instance, in an isolated railroad station at the opening, the telegraph wires on the agent's battered desk are fixed in rococo curlicues. The score by Ennio Morricone suggests how Puccini would have written *his* Western, *La Fanciulla del West*, if he had done it about 1935. Broad lyric themes, right out of La Scala, accompany violent gunplay and dusty confrontations. This Western has the first shootout in which I expected the duellists to burst into *bel canto*.

The story could have been told, as it often has been, in 80 minutes or so. But, in his editing, Leone anatomizes every scene into its components, expanding small incidents into small dramas: for example, a sequence in which water drips on Woody Strode's head, then his hat, is made into a little pantomine of stolid humor. It's Leone's intensity with these details of editing, his concentration on small stuff, that gives the picture what interest it has. When it gets into the plot lines and personal relations, when it gets figuratively off the movieola and on to its feet, the picture reveals how thin it is. But for the first hour or so, the loving care that Leone gives it is so tender – even in the many killings – that it is almost breathtaking. I was wonderstruck at it, not by it.

*Book Note:* The American Film Institute has done a valuable service by publishing its *Guide to College Film Courses 1969-70*. (It's to be an annual.) People are always asking where they can study film; now the AFI has assembled the facts. The notes for each school are short, but at least they tell you where you can find out more. Choices are left, as they should be, to the reader. There are now 51 schools offering degrees in film and 168 schools offering courses, but not degrees, in film – an overall increase of 84 percent in the last five years. This helpful pamphlet costs $1 and is available from the Institute at 1815 H Street N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

## Personals

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN *OUR* CIVIL WAR? Bumpersticker. 6/$1.00. Bell & Company, Commercial Center, Beverly Hills 90210.

CONCERNED ABOUT OVERPOPULATION? Join Zero Population Growth, Inc., 1158 Lisa Lane, Los Altos, California 94022.

HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO A RUSSIAN? You can on July 5th because CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS believes that now more than ever face-to-face citizen level diplomacy is a step toward SURVIVAL. C E C's three week study-exchange programs in the USSR are open to Americans of all ages and occupations. Leave NYC JULY 5, AUGUST 2 and 23. Write-Wire C E C NR 6/21, 10 West 46th Street, New York City 10036 or 212-LT 1-8113.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL! Make light-machines, strobes, organs, slides, etc. Send $2.00—Lightrays, 713K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

MUSKIE '72, bumperstickers 3/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista Road, Bridgeport, Connecticut 06604.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF EXCELLENCE IN WRITING: Professional. Executive. Academic. Address: Director, Professional Communication Center, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York 10022.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 95, 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Include exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book. $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KENNEDY '72 buttons 5/$1.00. bumperstickers 4/$1.00. DRUM, Box 609-NR, Fairfield, Connecticut.

**"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE 8¼" x 4" $1.50. Deluxe Edition, $2.50, grandiose, $5.00. Bumperstrip, 2/$1.00. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.**

A NEEDY AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD, eager and beguiling, awaits your sponsorship for clothing, books, continued education. $12.50 monthly. Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C. 20016.

**BUTTONS, BUMPERSTRIPS, DECALS, BALLOONS, DAFFY DAISIES, IMPRINTED T-SHIRTS AND SWEATSHIRTS.** All custom-made. FREE price list and samples. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York 11551.

**SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.**

**DIRTY OLD MEN NEED LOVE TOO—over 225 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/$1, 50/$5, 125/$10 and 1,000/$75. Bumperstickers, beads and peace jewelry, too. Free catalogue to all! Free sample to stores. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 MISSION, SAN FRANCISCO 94103.**

MIGHTN'T YOU ENJOY EXCHANGING intelligent letters on more pleasurable living with prematurely-retired Spain-based expatriate? If you would, write Reymond, Apartado 9046, Barcelona.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: unique lecture notes. Hundreds of courses, taken directly in class by professionals from world-famous teachers, $1-$4. Send for free catalog. Fybate Lecture Notes, Dept. M, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

GENUINE BUCKSKIN JACKETS, gloves, moccasins. Send 50c for genuine buckskin money poke and big catalogue. Berman Buckskin Company, Dept. 67, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401.

RIOT-TORN COLLEGE Problems Solved. E.S.V. Box 4180 New Republic.

WATCHBAND CALENDAR — 12 monthly metal wafers, starting current month; fold around watchband. $1.50. IDEA HOUSE, Rye, N. Y. 10580.

SEARCHING? . . . It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international clients. $10 fee payable when you return questionnaire. Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems, NR21, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N. J. 08540.

FORMERLY MARRIEDS-UNIVERSITY ALUMNI. Private Club in Manhattan, parties Friday, Saturday BE 3-5910. Box 505, Old Chelsea, NYC 10011.

**BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot. $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.**

**TED/72 Bumper Stickers 4/$1. P.O. Box 195, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.**

**BE THE PERSON YOU WANT TO BE! Overcome hangups, personality problems! Self-realization Course $10. Literature: NovaYoga, Box 393-R, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.**

HIKING—small camp (boys 10-14). Interested? Write Tom Bean, Randolph, New Hampshire.

YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS beautifully imprinted in blue on 100 5½x8½ sheets white 25% rag bond only $1.25 postpaid. Big sample assortment colorful Personalized Stationery included. JACQUES COMPANY, Box 5-FA, 310 East 25th Street, New York, New York 10010.

"WHY ARE THERE RIOTS?" $1.00 forwarded E. B. Johnson, P.O. Box 635, Detroit, Michigan 48206.

## Literature

"LEW ARTHUR'S 'VALERY' HAS PANACHE," says Patricia Coffin, Look Magazine, of the story "Come Back Valery" that won first prize in the second Frances Steloff Fiction Contest. "Sprightly, contemporary," says Warren Bower of Arthur's story. Special second prize to Margaret Perry. Both stories in current PANACHE Magazine, plus news of new contest, and "Advice for Writers" by E. L. Doctorow, Novelist-Editor and Lillian Friedman, Brentano's. More fiction poetry by Coffin, Fairfax, Frank, Kostelanetz, Moat, Morgan, Norman, Stack. $1 PANACHE INC Rm. NR, 153 E. 84th Street, New York, New York 10028.

A NEW VOICE IN THE SOUTH WEST. The OKLAHOMA LIMITED will explore in depth the political life of Oklahoma. Published biweekly. $5.00 per year. Box 1041, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73101.

**SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $4.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.**

POEMS WANTED FOR QUARTERLY PUBLICATION. Submit several. POETRY PAGEANT, Box 3677-RN, Washington 20007.

MY NAME IS RICHARD. I write **BOOKS** — publish them myself and sell them for $1. Want one? Send your $1 to: Richard Liebow, 948 Market, San Francisco 94101.

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-Americans, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, $1.00.

CINEMA, OLD-NEW. Monthly Catalogue. Del's 12725-R Flatbush, Norwalk, California 90650.

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF RADICAL LUTHERANISM. $2.00 per annum. METANOIA, Box 4971, St. Louis, Missouri 63108.

FREELANCE TRANSLATIONS: Russian, Japanese, German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish to English. Quick efficient service. Write: Drach, 321 S. Division No. 3, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108.

CHINA IN MAPS: An atlas of 24 colored maps, historical and geographical, 11 x 8½". Postpaid $1.50. Remit with order Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

NATION'S Capital; nation's colony. Until we get self-government, your congressman helps run our city. Find out how he's doing. Read lively DC inner city monthly. Six months: $1.00. Capitol East Gazette, 109 8th Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

## Schools

NEW STREET ACADEMY on upper West Side of Manhattan needs funds. Purpose is to educate dropouts, so that they may go on to Prep School. Academy for Black and Latin Education, 73 West 105th Street, New York City 10025.

ARTHUR MORGAN SCHOOL. Grades 7, 8, & 9. Coeducational, informal, noncompetitive. Work Program, Quaker Leadership. Mountain setting. Arthur Morgan School, Burnsville, North Carolina 28714.

SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE—On Appalachian Trail overlooking Poconos. Opening this fall. Grades 10-11, boarding 20 boys, 16 girls. Intercultural, venturesome, non-denominational but seriously Christian, related to Kirkridge retreat-and-study center founded 1942. All-teach-all-learn community including expert teachers for college preparation, social relevance, late-teen self-realization. 85 miles from Manhattan and Philadelphia. Write SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE, BOX 1, BANGOR, PENNSYLVANIA 18013. Phone 215-581-8954.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Camps

LES VOYAGEURS DE LA VERENDRYE. Wilderness canoe trips for the older boy—ages 13-17. June 30-July 28 OR August 1-August 22. For information and application forms, please contact Montreal YMCA, 1441 Drummond Street, Montreal 107, Canada.

## Employment Opportunities

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You! Good jobs. Adventure. Forms and Australian Handbook (1969) describing Australian assisted passage, passport-visa, advantages, opportunities $1.00. Buckeye, Box HA, Fairborn, Ohio 45524.

HOUSEKEEPER—fine home, salary for kind person, 3 children in family (6, 4, 3) Cape Cod and Montclair, New Jersey. Replies to Box 4210 New Republic.

EDITOR-consultant for unusual new publisher—we won't compromise to win the big adoption. Social studies teaching, urban problems background, to develop specialized curricula for large cities. CSCS, Inc./60 Commercial Wharf/Boston, Massachusetts 02110.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. $1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach California 90803.

TEACHERS WANTED. Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York suburb 45 minutes from NYC. Salary range for 1969 is $6,900 to $14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst. Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, New Jersey 201—361-2900.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES—Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators; department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

IDEALISTIC OFFSET PRESSMAN wanted by printing company in unusual, progressive college community. Many staff members are actively interested in peace, civil rights and economic democracy. A person needed to be responsible for high quality, relatively small scale, offset production from stripping and plate-making to four color process work. Considerable experience valuable. Write: Lee Morgan, Antioch Bookplate Company, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

I WENT TO AUSTRALIA! $3 for details may save you the trip. P.O. Box 9371 Berkeley, California 94709.

## Employment Wanted

STUDENT DESIRES SUMMER WORK. Housework; childcare experience: Live-in babysitting; teaching: mentally, physically handicapped; swimming; creative dramatics. D. Ross, 17 West Seminary Avenue, Lutherville, Maryland 21093.

## Vacations/Travel

LEARN TO SAIL. Rental sailboats, instruction. Brochure. Mystic Wharf, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

RENT BEAUTIFUL WATERSIDE VACATION HOUSE on Maryland's Eastern Shore. 5 bdrms. 2 baths. All appliances. Pier (5' MLW). Available Jul-Aug. Contact Margaret Perkins, Chestertown, Maryland 21620.

WINDJAMMER VACATION—week aboard auxiliary schooner, "Richard Robbins.": Maine bays and islands. Brochure. Capt. George Allen, Blue Hill, Maine.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21, JCM, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

## Property–Sale/Rent

FOR SALE: 7 Beautiful building-sites—10 acres each near lakes and good hunting areas. Write H. E. Harvey, Route 1, Box 259, Clarksville, Arkansas 72830.

BEAUTIFUL HOMES now available in the lovely suburban communities of Cleveland Heights, Shaker Heights and East Cleveland. All near spacious well equipped shopping centers, nationally acclaimed schools. These homes are located in mature integrated neighborhoods near Cleveland's Cultural Center, they sell from $16,000 to $32,000. VA Buyers "0" Down, FHA as low as $300.00 Down. Contact: Cleveland Listing Exchange, Inc., 2221 N. Taylor Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio—216—851-1000.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AREA furnished 5-room apartment $135.00 + utilities Box 4205 New Republic.

## Arts and Crafts

THE SANDAL SHOP Custom-Made sandals and Handwovens. Ghirardelli Square, San Francisco.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Illustrated catalogue, 50c. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15 Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Equador.

## Music

HARD-TO-GET folk, jazz and blues lps. Send wants. Monon Record Service, Box 18221 BT, San Francisco, California 94118.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE 40 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Some records priced as low as $1.00! All late recordings in stereo only. MHS RECORDS, Box 932 NR, New York, New York 10023.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

### CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) .....45c
Per word 6 times in one contract year ...40c
Per word 12 times in one contract year...37c
Per word 24 times in one contract year...33c
Per word 48 times in one contract year...30c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

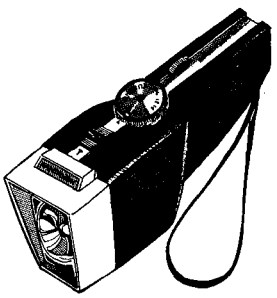
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

17 LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION 17

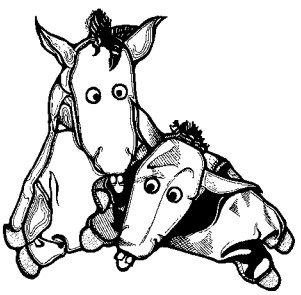
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# haverhill's



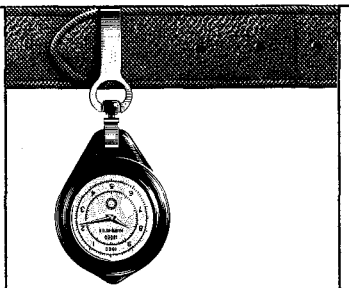
### FLASHLIGHT RADIO

is great for evening walks, or back in your cabin or tent. (Great anyplace where light music and musical light are called for.) Two penlights and one transistor battery power this useful unit. **$19.95**



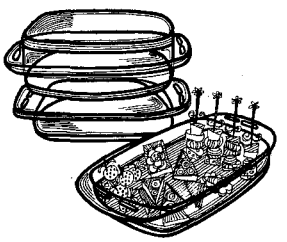
### KNAUTSCHI

is made of leather and "full of beans!" Cuddle him, squeeze him, worry him. He won't mind—and he'll make you laugh, no matter what shape he's in (or you're in!) Assorted colors. **$5.95**
MUSIC-KNAUTSCHI (with Swiss music box inside) turns his head as the music plays. **$9.95**



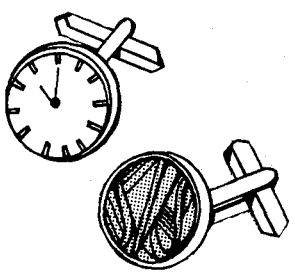
### MANPO/METER

your way to fitness with this reliable pedometer—the *sine qua non* of a systematic walking (or jogging) program. Tells you how many steps you've walked—so precisely it's used in engineering for measuring long distances. Lick those cobwebs and middle-age-spread. Manpo won't let you cheat or overdo it either. Black or red hi-impact plastic case. **$8.95**



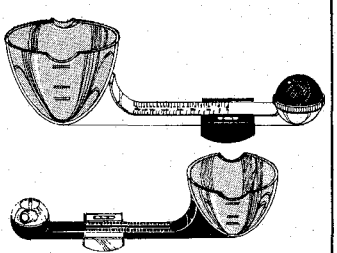
### STACK & SNACK

are refrigerator-to-table dishes that store food in a practical manner. Get rid of that aluminum mine in the refrigerator and see what you have left over—at a glance! Odors can't penetrate. Prepare hors d'oeuvres ahead, store and serve in these useful dishes. May be used as bottoms or lids interchangeably. Set of 5. **$6.95**



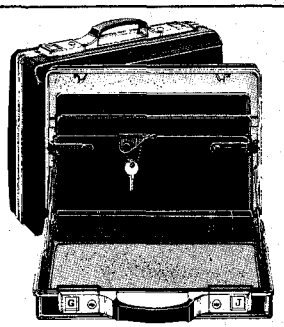
### WATCH LINKS

are the "dernier cri" of gent's accessories, replacing wristwatches for evening wear. Striking links—one with a 17-jewel Incabloc watch, the other with mother-of-pearl. Gold or rhodium plate. (Please specify.) **$29.95**



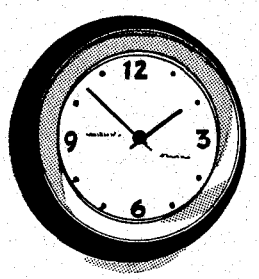
### MAXI/BALANCE & MINI/BALANCE

are extremely accurate scales for all purposes. They come with transparent measuring cup, water level, and adjustment system for accuracy. Weighs liquids & solids. Great for craftsmen and for those who have to keep special diets.
MAXI/BALANCE (1 pint capacity) with a wall holder. **$6.50**
MINI/BALANCE (4 ounce capacity) **$4.50**



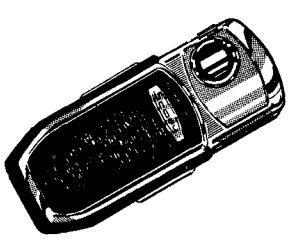
### CONTOUR ATTACHE CASE

is spacious and sharp looking. Fully compartmentalized, it will hold all your business needs and double as an overnighter too. Of light, extra tough, black "Cyrolac" (just over 4 lbs.—18" x 13" x 4"). Cylinder lock. Aluminum hardware. With two initials (specify). **$29.95**



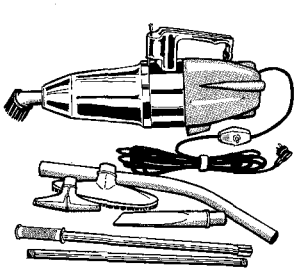

### APPLE CLOCK

is a completely transistorized precision battery chronometer of uncommon elegance. Smooth black housing. 4" diameter. Gold trim. **$50**



### SCOPY

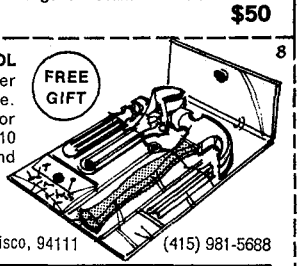
is a tiny zoom instrument that springs into action at the press of your thumb. It can be used as a 4X telescope, 8X magnifier, and for all intermediate distances, through continuous focusing. May also be used as a 4X reduction photographic viewfinder. Surface mirrors provide amplified luminosity. Black vinyl with vinyl case. **$39.95**
DELUXE SCOPY (alligator trim) **$50.00**



### PORT-O-VAC

vacuum cleaner weighs just 5 lbs., but has suction and strength of full-sized units. Extender reaches the most inaccessible spots! Powered by a turbine motor with permanent filter and 9 attachments. Heavily chromed. 110v. **$39.95**

**A FREE GIFT FOR YOU:** our **POCKET TOOL KIT** (in shirt-pocket vinyl case) if your order (exclusive of post. & tax) is $30 or more.
**OUR GUARANTEE:** has no "ifs," "ands" or "buts." Simply return any item within 10 days if you are not delighted. All parts and workmanship are guaranteed one year.




8

haverhill's 584 Washington St., San Francisco, 94111 (415) 981-5688

| Quantity | Item | Amount |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

Calif. residents add 5% tax ____
Postage and Insurance $1.00
My check for this Total is enclosed ____

NAME ____

ADDRESS ____

ZIP ____

☐ I am entitled to receive a FREE TOOL KIT.

TNR 0621

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## When you invest a billion dollars to help the cities, you learn some things.

# A lot that is said about urban problems is pure myth.

Myth: "You can't save the cities. If backlash doesn't beat you, Blacklash will."

Myth: "Government can solve the urban problem all alone."

Myth: "Big business can solve the urban problem all alone."

Choose your cliché and come out swinging. So many myths have sprung up around the problems of the cities that the myths themselves are problems.

But when you actually get in and grapple with the problem, the myths just fall away. For example, it might seem very gratifying to businessmen if all they had to do was apply some corporate mind and money to make the cities bloom again overnight. Or, alternatively, if they could simply hang a "For Government Only" sign on the subject and walk away from all responsibility. We in the life insurance business found from experience that neither response is valid.

We found this when we got involved.

Back about 18 months ago, a lot of life insurance companies got together to try to solve some of the inner cities' problems. We felt there was a job we could do there, with our knowledge of investing in housing and in projects that create employment. So the life insurance companies pledged a billion dollars for the effort.

This was no normal, business-as-usual investment. Our business knew that capital for the inner cities was not readily available on reasonable terms, because of risk or location. But nonetheless the need for such funds was very great.

After all, our business is intimately involved with people, with their health and safety. And people live in the cities. You might say that people *are* the cities. The health of one means the health of the other. And both together mean the health of business. Any business.

The billion-dollar investment is now almost completely committed.

And in the process is debunking some myths. Like those we mentioned. Like the myths that "those people never do anything to help themselves," or that "the poor are always with us."

We found constructive people in the cities. Our involvement exposed us to responsible leaders. To people eager to build and improve.

In short, we found people.

Not myths.

We found reason to invest still further.

To pledge a second billion.

A second billion dollars with the same aims as the first.

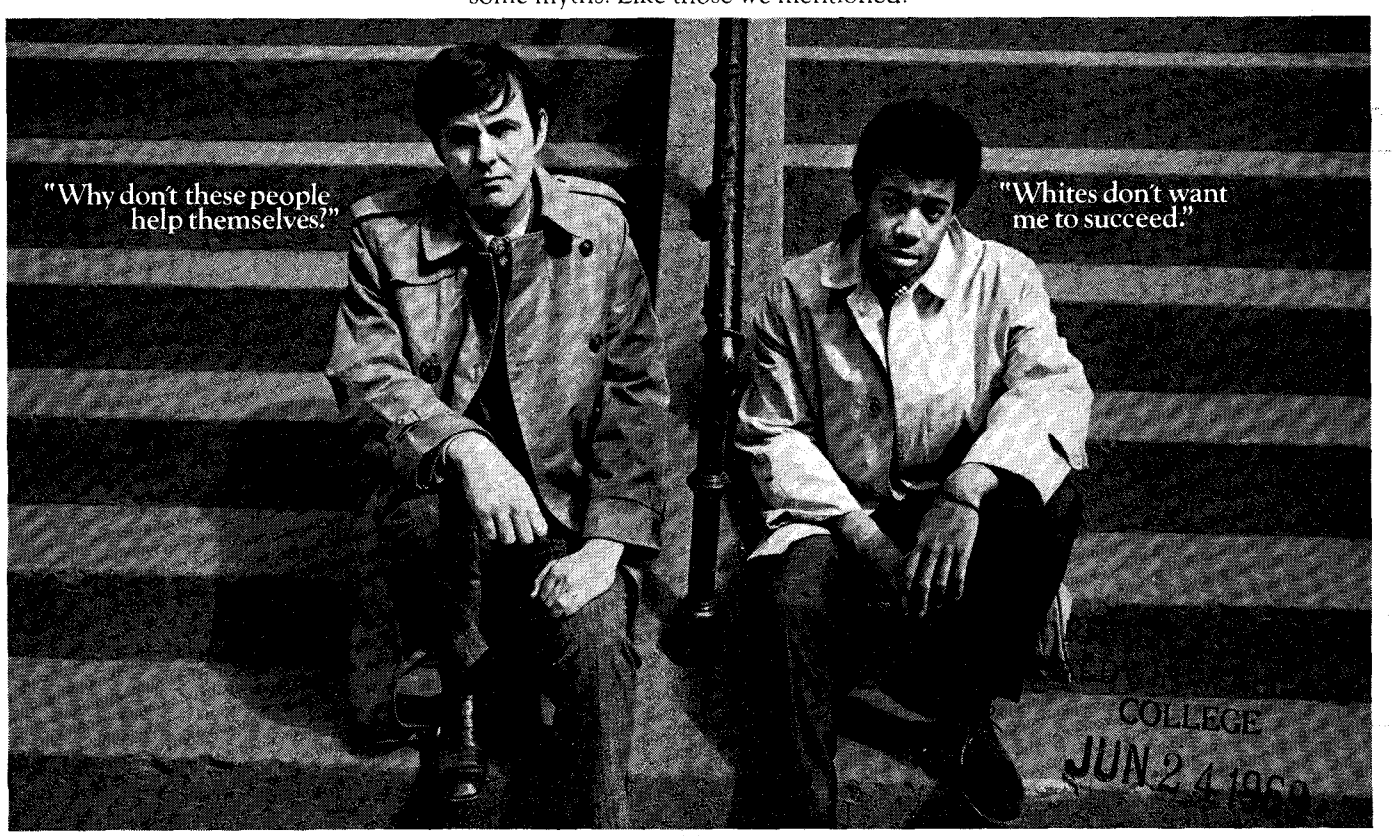
A second billion that will help utilize what we learned from the first.

To help others learn some things they might do, we've prepared a booklet: "The cities...your challenge, too."

So more people can become involved.

People like you. Write: Dept. M

Institute of Life Insurance
On behalf of the life insurance companies in America
277 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED